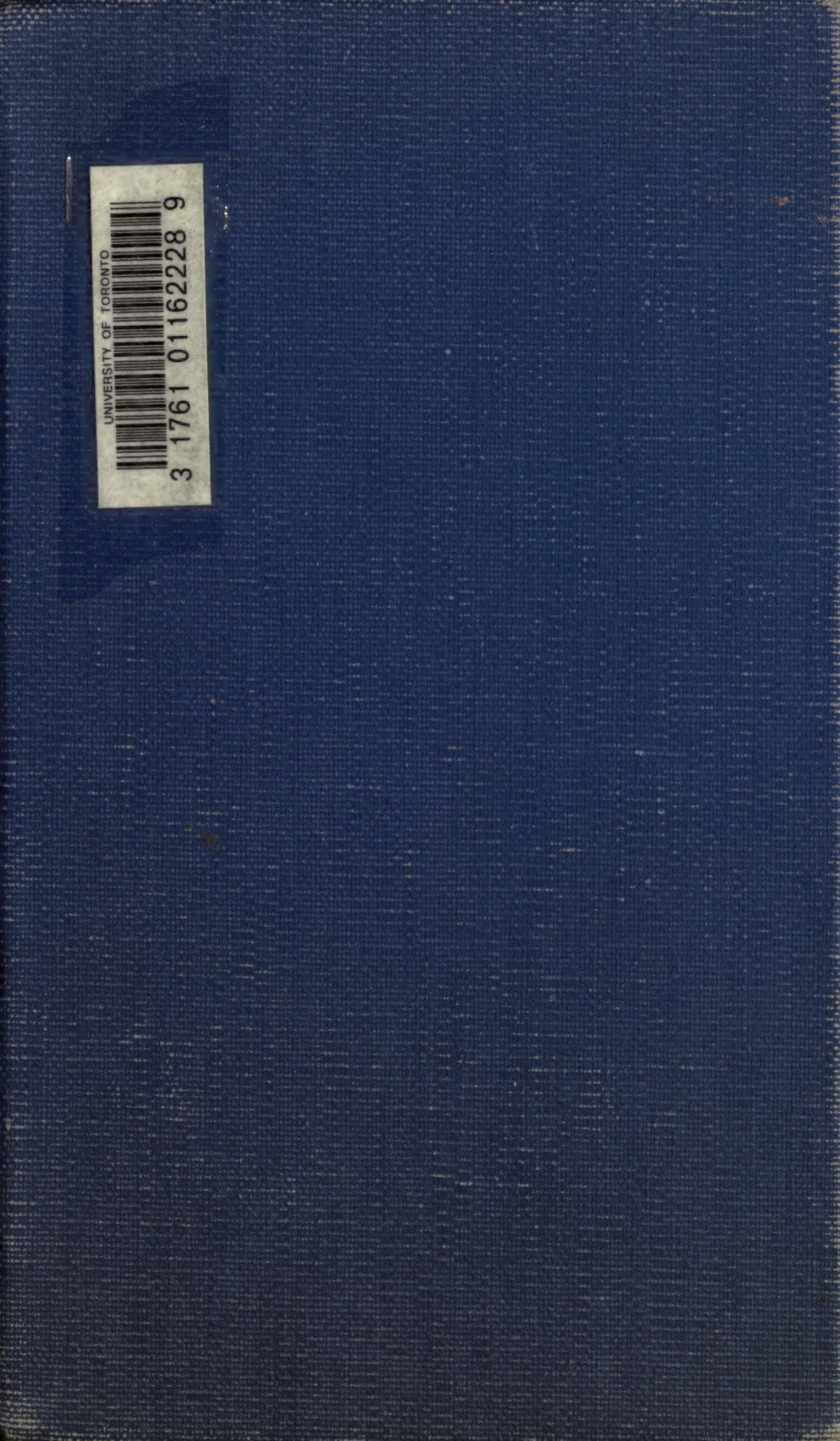
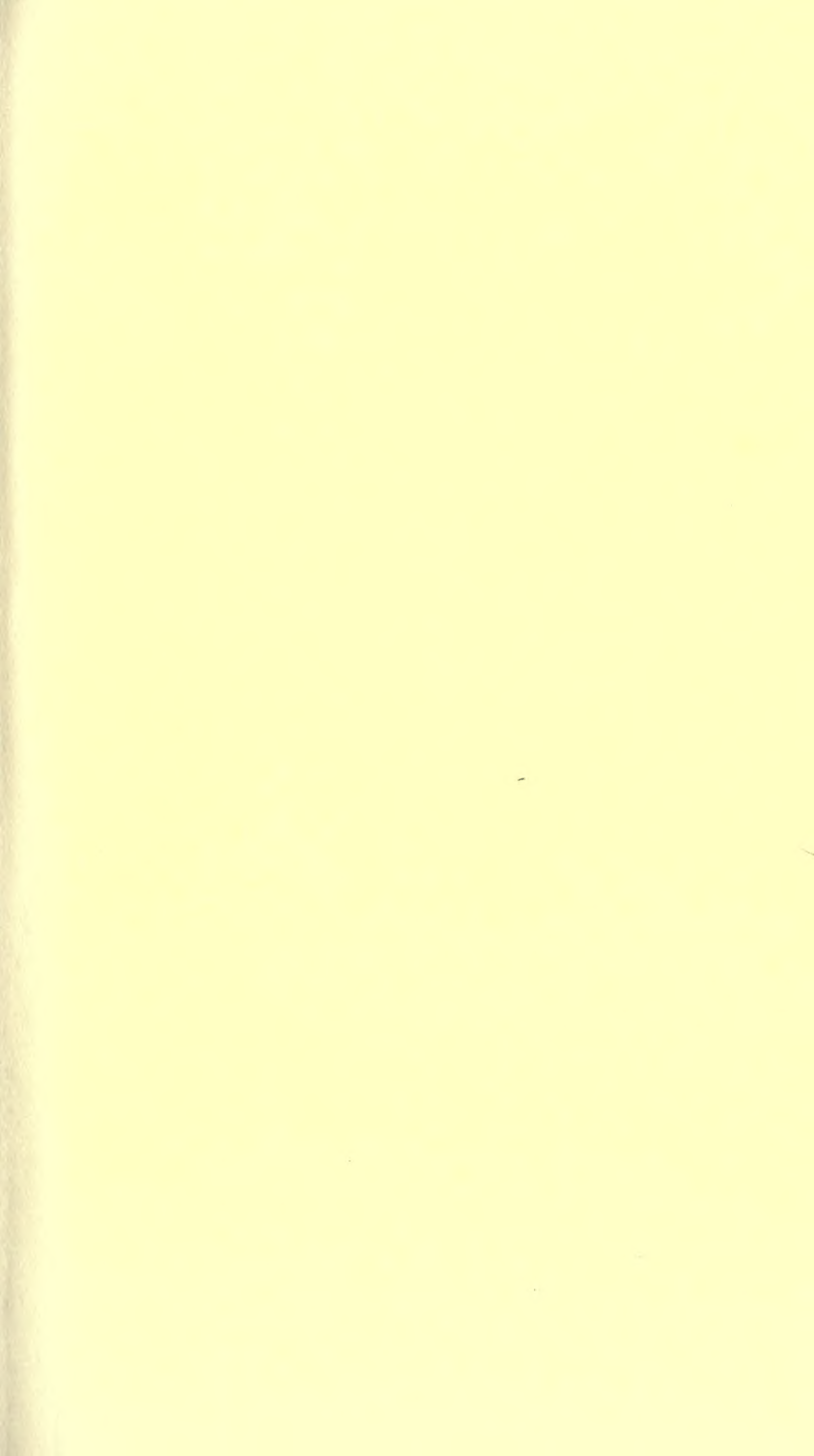

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Drawn & Engraved by R.W. Sievier.

A Knight of the First Crusade.

London, Published Jan.1.1820, by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES,

FOR THE

RECOVERY AND POSSESSION

OF THE

Holy Land.

By CHARLES MILLS.

—— Therefore, friends,
As far as to the Sepulchre of Christ,
(Whose soldier now, under whose blessed cross
We are impressed and engag'd to fight)
Forthwith a power of English shall we levy;
Whose arms were moulded in their mothers' wombs
To chase these Pagans, in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.

SHAKESPEARE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND
BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1821.



By the same Author,

AN HISTORY OF MUHAMMEDANISM;

COMPRISING

The Life and Character of the Arabian Prophet, and Succinct Accounts of the Empires formed by the Muhammedan Arms. An Inquiry into the Theology, Morality, Laws, Literature, and Usages of the Muselmans, and a View of the Present State and Extent of the Muhammedan Religion. In 1 Vol. 8vo, price 12s. Second Edition.

Printed by Cox and Baylis,
Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

PREFACE.

The supposed duty of relieving the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem from the yoke of the Muselmans influenced the western world during a considerable part of the middle ages. It had its origin in the universal feeling of regarding with veneration the scenes of great events: it was nourished and matured by the common disposition of setting the seal of absolute obligation upon every thing that is connected, in however remote a degree, with piety: it was quickened into action by indignation at insults and intolerance of error: and it was supported during its reign as a principle of conduct by Papal authority, political interests, habitual hope, a deep disdain of submission to the enemies of religion, and by the love of that honourable reputation which in days of chivalry was bestowed upon militant Christians.

To what authors can an English reader refer for an historical narrative of the romantic superstition of his ancestors? Fuller is the only writer in our language who has made the Holy Wars the subject of separate discussion and distinct inquiry. His book is valuable and amusing on account of its wit and sentences, but possesses no claim to praise for amplitude, or accuracy of detail. The popular historians of England have bestowed only a few pages upon the topic; for, as the transmarine expeditions of the people of Europe stood independent of the usual political relations between countries, as the Latin kingdom and principalities in Syria and Palestine were colonies of all the states of the west, and not of any one in particular, a detail of the *world's debate* does not naturally form a portion of the history of any single nation.

And yet the shores of Palestine may not be improperly regarded merely as the theatre of English chivalry. Many of our most vigorous and warlike princes sought martyrdom or glory in

in Asia. Richard Cœur de Lion is chiefly remarkable for his martial pilgrimage to the holy land. Robert Curthose (the eldest son of William the Conqueror), Richard, earl of Cornwall (the brother of king Henry III.), and the all-praised Edward (afterwards king Edward I.), were heroical votaries of the cross. Even after the Crusaders had been driven from Syria, and the cry of religious war was heard but at intervals in Europe, our brave and politic monarchs Henry IV. and Henry V. wished to rekindle the flames of holy zeal. Some of the most noble youth of England followed "the "mirror of their kings," and were celebrated in the ranks of Christian knights. They rested their best hopes of never-dying honour on their ardour in

> "That cause that should all wars begin and end."

Their love of pilgrimages and crusades appears in their sepulchral monuments. On contemplating the cross-legged figures in the aisles of our venerable cathedrals, the days of chivalry rise before us in awful and splendid recollec-

 tion.

tion. We feel and own the genius of the place; and contrast the present solemn tranquillity and mournful silence of the tomb with the horrid din of Paynim war. We trace with fancy's eye the fortunes of the soldier of Christ from the joyful moment of his investment with the sacred badge to the hour of his triumph or death. His contempt of a perilous march, and his heroic ardour in the Syrian fields, awe and command our imagination; while his sacrifice of country and kindred throws an air of sublime devotedness round his exploits, and forbids us from censuring with severity the madness of the enterprise. As in his life, at the call of religion, he unsheathed his sword, and vowed the destruction of the faithless, so in death his marble hand grasps the hilt, and his countenance looks defiance and disdain.

The lion-hearted Plantagenet

——" did perform
" Beyond thoughts' compass; that former fabulous story,
" Being now seen possible enough, got credit;
" That Bevis was believ'd."

It might, therefore, have been expected, that no labour of research would have been spared in treating of the Crusade of king Richard I.: besides, national associations give it a high degree of interest, and it was a war more brilliant in its military events and more diversified in its politics than most of the others. Mr. Sharon Turner is the only author who appears to have justly appreciated the subject.

Few circumstances in the heroic ages of Christendom were more singular than the diversion of the fifth expedition from its Asiatic objects to the conquest of Constantinople. As the fortunes of the Greek empire were involved in the common struggles between the Turks and the Latins, the Crusades occupy a space in the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Of many of the holy wars Mr. Gibbon has made only hasty and imperfect sketches, principally taken from Vertot, L'Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem, and from Mailly, L'Esprit des Croisades: the former an amusing but superficial

 performance,

performance, the latter the result of considerable original inquiry; but where fancy often supplies the want of facts, and historical accuracy is bent and accommodated to dramatic effect. The fourth, sixth, and seventh Crusades are altogether unnoticed by Mr. Gibbon. But of the expedition, in which the Byzantine empire was principally interested, he has treated with such fidelity and splendour, the historic tissue is so closely drawn and so finely wrought, that every one who writes upon the Crusades must regret that the fifth armament is a part of his subject.

Whether the holy wars are considered, then, as belonging to the public affairs of Europe, or as a portion of the early history of England, a history of them in the English language appears to be a desideratum; and as hitherto the subject has been only partially or generally written upon, the present attempt is submitted to the public.

CONTENTS

TO

VOL. I.

CHAP. I.

A VIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE HOLY WARS.

CHAP. II.

A HOLY WAR DECREED—MORAL CONVULSION OF EUROPE—FATE OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS.

CHAP. III.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE —MARCH OF THE ARMIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

CHAP. IV.

THE MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS THROUGH ASIA MINOR.

CHAP. V.

MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE CROISES AT ANTIOCH.

CHAP. VII.

THE STATE OF THE HOLY LAND AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

CHAP. VIII.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF THE CHIVALRIC INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

CHAP. X.

STATE OF THE HOLY LAND BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.







THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CRUSADES.

CHAP. I.

A VIEW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH LED TO THE HOLY WARS.

Political history of Jerusalem...... The causes and practice of pilgrimages......Other reasons for people going to Palestine......Connection between commerce and pilgrimages......Tendency of an opinion prevalent in the tenth century......Account of a pilgrimage made by some Normans, Englishmen, &c......State of the Latins in Palestine......Effects of the Moslems' cruelty......Pope Silvester II. plans a crusade ......Effects in Europe of the political changes in Asia......Wish of Pope Gregory VII. respecting the state of the East......History of Asia Minor ......Continuation of the effects of the Moslems' cruelty......Religious and military spirit in Europe.

Political History of Jerusalem.

AFTER the accomplishment of prophecy in the destruction of the second temple, paganism became the religion of Jerusalem, and the insulting and intolerant Romans dedicated to Venus and Jove the spots which had been hal-

 lowed

CHAP. I. lowed by the passion of the Saviour. But in the fourth century the banner of the cross triumphed over polytheism. The piety of christian emperors raised churches on the ruins of heathen temples, and Jerusalem continued a seat of the true faith, till the "Star of Islamism" arose, and the Arabians changed the moral and political aspect of the world. For three ages the holy city was subject in reciprocal succession to the caliphs of Bagdad, and to those of Cairo. But the commanders of the faithful in Egypt finally prevailed, and in the year 969 their dominion over Palestine was established. A century, however, had not elapsed before a storm from the north burst upon the fairest and largest portion of Muhammedan countries, and the calamity of foreign invasion was added to the miseries of political feuds. From the bleak and ungenial plains of Khozzer, at the north-east of the Caspian sea, a mass of fierce and unpolished Turkmans, called in history the Seljuk Turks, rolled to the milder regions of the south. Between the years 1038 and 1092, all Persia, Arabia, and most of Syria, owned for their lords, Togrol, Seljuk, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah. In the divisions between the lords of the Moslem world, these Tartarian princes chose the side of the caliph of Bagdad; they rescued him from the rebellion of

CHAP. I.

of his Turkish guards, and from the hostility of his Egyptian rival. They then carried on offensive war with the enemies of their ally, and a general of Malek Shah, about the year 1076, tore Jerusalem from their grasp. The new conquest was intrusted to Ortok, emir of a considerable body of Turks from the plains of Kipjak, and who soon converted his government into an independent principality. The city was alternately under the authority of the Seljuks and the Ortokites, for eighteen years; but in the vicissitudes of fortune, the Egyptians once more became lords of the ascendant, and recovered their power in Palestine.*

A.D. 1094.

The causes and practice of pilgrimages.

Jerusalem, whether in a state of glory or of abasement, was always † held dear and sacred by the Christians. In the early ages of the church, a religious curiosity prompted people to visit those places which the scriptures have sanctified,‡ and as perceptible objects awaken associated

* De Guignes, livres 11 and 12.

† Jerome, in his seventeeth epistle, says that people began to pilgrimise to Jerusalem directly after the ascension of Christ.

‡ Quis enim non rapitur in admirationem et stuporem, qui montem Oliviferum, mare Tiberiadis, Jordanem, Hierosolymam, et alia loca quæ Christum frequentasse notum est, conspicit, et menti suæ præsentem sistit generis humani sospitatorem, illic ea operantem aut passum quæ originem dedere

CHAP. I. sociated thoughts and feelings,* the travellers found their sympathies stronger and their devotions more fervent, in beholding the scenes of the ministry of their divine master, than in simply reading the narrative of his life. From the impious and vain attempt of the emperor Julian to re-edify the walls of the holy city, the moral conclusion should have been drawn, that heaven had manifested its providence in order to complete its promises for the perfect abrogation of Judaism; but superstition readily fancied that there was some peculiar sanctity in the very ground of Jerusalem, and consequently the habit of visiting Palestine became strengthened.

dedere sacris Christianorum ejus nomen confitentium. Reland, Palæstina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata, vol. 1. lib. 1. c. 4. page 21. "Not that the Deity can be adored in Jerusalem only; for who does not know that he is omnipresent; but the faithful may gratify their eyes by contemplating the scenes of the passion, and not enjoy them by faith alone. If we are devoted to any object, every circumstance, every thing relating to it interests us." Theodoreti Hist. Rel. p. 820.

* "Movemur nescio quo pacto locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramur, adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ nostræ Athenæ non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit: studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor." Cicero de Legibus, l. 2. c. 2.

ened.* Anxious restless guilt hoped that pardon might be procured by him who underwent the pains of pilgrimage, and who made the sacrifice of prayer in a land which, above all other countries, seemed to have been favored by the Deity. As expiation was now the purpose of the religious traveller, it was the duty of directors of consciences to determine on what occasions the penance was necessary. The bible acquainted the pious with the manners of the East. A scrip and a staff were, in conformity with Asiatic customs, considered to be the accompaniments of every traveller: they were the only support of the poor, and were always carried by the rich. The village pastor delivered a staff† into the hands

* Even the dust of Palestine was adored: it was carefully conveyed to Europe, and the fortunate possessor, whether by original acquisition or by purchase, was considered to be safe from the malevolence of demons. As a proof that miracles had not ceased in his time, St. Augustine relates a story of the cure of a young man, who had some of the dust of the holy city suspended in a bag over his bed. De Civitate Dei, lib. 22. c. 8. The fashion of transporting to Europe the soil of Palestine ran through most of the middle ages. At Pisa, the cemetery called *Campo Santo* contains, they say, five fathoms of holy land, brought in 1218 from Jerusalem by the Pisans. Lalande, Voyage en Italie, tom 2.

† It is necessary to inform those who are obliged to describe the customs of the middle ages, that the staff of the pilgrim

CHAP. I. hands of the pilgrim, and put round him a scarf or girdle to which a leathern scrip was attached.* Friends and neighbours walked with him to the next town, and benedictions and tears sanctified and embittered the moment of separation. On his return, he placed the branch of the sacred palm-tree† (which he had brought from Jerusalem) over the altar of his church, in proof of

pilgrim very rarely resembled a long cross or a crook. It was generally a stick as tall as the bearer, with a knob in the middle, and sometimes one at the top. See Fosbrooke's Monachism, p. 422, &c.

* For remarks on the dress of a pilgrim, see note A at the end of the volume.

† Dante mentions the pilgrim bringing home his staff, inwreathed with palm. Che si reca'l bordon di palma cinto. Del Purgatorio, canto 33. 78. The word palmer denoted a holy traveller to Jerusalem. Archb. of Tyre, lib. 21. cap. 17. Du Cange, articles Palmarius and Palmifer. Menage Dict. Etymologique, article Paumiers. Chiamansi Palmieri, inquanto vanno oltra mare, laonde molte volte recano la palma. Dante, Vita Nuova, p. 80. Many writers have said that the pilgrim travelled to some certain place; the palmer to all, and not to any one in particular. The old authors, however, do not always attend to this distinction: Chaucer, for instance, as Mr. Tyrwhitt says, seems to consider all pilgrims to foreign parts as palmers. Notes on the Canterbury Tales, vol. ii. p. 393. 4to edition. The words palmer and pilgrims are used as perfectly synonimous in the Visions of Piers Ploughman.

of the accomplishment of his vow; religious thanksgivings were offered up; rustic festivity saluted and honoured him, and he was revered for his piety and successful labours.*

Though pilgrimages were generally considered acts of virtue, yet some of the leaders of the church accounted them useless and criminal. Gregory, bishop of Nice, in the fourth century, dissuades his flock from these journies. They were not conscientious obligations, he said, for, in the description of persons whom Christ had promised to acknowledge in the next world, the name of pilgrim could not be found. A migratory life was dangerous to virtue, particularly to the modesty of women.† Horror at specta-

 cles

* "A true devoted pilgrim is not weary
"To measure kingdoms with his feeble steps."
Two Gentlemen of Verona, act 2. sc. 7.

† The necessity of making a pilgrimage to Rome and other places was often urged by ladies, who did not wish to be mewed in the solitary gloom of a cloister, "chaunting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon." In the ninth century, a foreign bishop wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting, in very earnest terms, that English women of every rank and degree might be prohibited from pilgrimising to Rome. Their gallantries were notorious over all the continent. "Perpaucæ enim sunt civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum: quod scandalum est, et turpitudo

CHAP. I.

cles of vice would diminish with familiarity, and the moral principle would gradually be destroyed. Malice, idolatry, poisoning, and bloodshed, disgraced Jerusalem itself; and so dreadfully polluted was the city, that if any man wished to have a more than ordinary spiritual communication with Christ, he had better quit his earthly tabernacle at once, than endeavour to enjoy it in places originally sacred, but which had been since defiled.* Some years after the time of Gregory, a similar description of the depravity at Jerusalem was given by Saint Jerome, and the Latin father commends a monk, who, though a resident in Palestine, had but on one occasion travelled to the city.† The opinions of these two venerable spiritual guides could not stem the torrent of popular religion. The coffers of the church were enriched by the sale of relics, and the dominion of the clergy became powerful, in proportion to the growth of religious

turpitudo totius ecclesiæ." Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. 58. vol. v. p. 58.

* Gregorei, episcopi Nyssæ, de euntibus Ieros. Epist. edit. Molinæo, &c. Hanov. 1607. Roman Catholic writers have been anxious to prove that St. Gregory did not condemn pilgrimages in the abstract. Perhaps so: he contends, however, that in his time no good could result from holy journies.

† Molinæus, note No. 19.

gious abuses and corruptions. Pilgrims from India, Ethiopia, Britannia, and Hibernia, went to Jerusalem; and the tomb of Christ resounded with hymns in various languages. Bishops and teachers would have thought it a disgrace to their piety and learning, if they had not adored their Saviour on the very spot where his cross had first shed the light of his gospel.*

Other reasons for people going to Palestine.

The assertion, that "the coffers of the church "were enriched by the sale of relics" requires some observations; because the sale of one relic in particular encouraged the ardour of pilgrimages, and from that ardour the crusades arose. During the fourth century, Christendom was duped into the belief, that the very cross on which Christ had suffered had been discovered in Jerusalem. The city's bishop was the keeper of the treasure, but the faithful never offered their money in vain for a fragment of the holy wood. They listened with credulity to the assurance of their priests, that a living virtue pervaded an inanimate and insensible substance, and that the cross permitted itself every day to be divided into several parts, and yet remained uninjured

* Jerome, Epist. ad Marcell. Ep. 22. See too Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 15-18.

CHAP. I. uninjured and entire.* It was publicly exhibited during the religious festivities of Easter, and Jerusalem was crowded with pious strangers to witness the solemn spectacle. But after four ages of perpetual distribution, the world was filled with relics, and superstition craved for a novel object. Accordingly, the Latin clergy of Palestine pretended, that on the vigil of Easter, after the great lamps in the church of the resurrection had been extinguished, they were relighted by God himself. People flocked from the West to the East in order to behold this act of the divinity, and to catch some portion of a flame, which had the marvellous property of healing all diseases, mental as well as bodily, if those who received it had faith.†

The

* Thus Erasmus says, in his entertaining dialogue on pilgrimages, "that if the fragments of the cross were collected, enough would be found for the building of a ship." "Idem causantur de cruce Domini, quæ privatim ac publice tot locis ostendetur, ut si fragmenta conferantur in unum, navis onerariæ justum onus videri possint; et tamen totam crucem suam bajulavit Dominus." No doubt Swift had this passage in his mind when he observes, "another time Lord Peter was telling of an old sign-post that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war." Tale of a Tub, sec. 4.

† De Lumine Sancti Sepulchri Commentatio. Moshemii Dissertationes, vol. 2. Lubeck, 1727; and Du Cange's note on

Connection between commerce and pilgrimages.

The love of pilgrimages was nourished by a circumstance of no apparent connection with devotional curiosity, the desire of expiation, the collecting of relics, or any other religious principle. Even so early as the days of Chilperic, France* carried on a constant and extensive intercourse with Greece. The opposite shores† of the Mediterranean were also known. Religion and commerce assisted each other, and the characters of a holy traveller and a worldly merchant

on the thirteenth book of the Alexiad, p. 99. Like Tertullian and his school, these fire-worshippers "measured the merits of their assent by the absurdity of the proposition to be believed."

* De Guignes, in 37 vol. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Muratori Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi Diss. 30.

† "It has been remarked very long ago, that Palestine is the natural seat of great maritime commerce; which, indeed, first arose in that quarter, although afterwards unnaturally, as it were, it removed to other less convenient shores. To perceive this, one need only cast an eye on the map of this country. It lies between two seas, from which there is a direct navigation to the farthest eastern and western parts of the globe. The land carriage of commodities from India, and other oriental countries, unloaded at Aela, and to be transported to the Mediterranean sea, is very easy, and by the use of camels very cheap; and the caravan trade betwixt Asia and Africa must likewise take its way through Palestine." Michaelis on the Mosaic law, vol. 1. p. 72. Smith's translation.

CHAP. I. merchant were often united in the same person. The hospitals which charity had founded for the faultering pilgrim on the road to Jerusalem were the resting places of the caravans. The Christians acted like the Muselmans and Hindus, whose expeditions * to Mecca and Haridwar are for mercantile as well as for religious purposes.† From the ninth century to the eleventh, no state was richer or more commercial than that of Amalfi.

* The Muselmans also were fond of pilgrimages to Jerusalem. They venerated that city as having been honoured with the presence of Christ and other prophets, whose divine authority they acknowledged. In Muhammedan theology, it is the place of assemblage at the general resurrection. To die in Jerusalem is as beneficial as to die in Heaven. The most infatuated Christian pilgrim could not have had a higher idea of the meritoriousness of his journey, than what was entertained by the Muselman itinerant. The prayer of a man in his house is equal to one prayer : but in a temple near his house, it is as efficacious as twenty-five prayers : and in a public mosque it is five hundred : but in Jerusalem or Medina, it is worth five thousand common orisons. Mischat ul Musabih, vol. 1. p. 155. 4to. Calcutta 1809 : and the French translations which De Guignes has made of two Arabic treatises, on the subject of pilgrimages to Jerusalem, in the second volume of Notices des MSS. du Roi.

† James de Vitry, speaking of the pilgrims, says, Latini devotionis gratiâ aut negotiationis advenientes, p. 1082 in Bonjarsius.

Amalfi.* Its maritime laws were as much respected in Europe, as the Rhodian decisions had been venerated by the Romans. Its money was current throughout the East. Amalfi was nominally dependent on the Emperor of Constantinople, and his formal sanction was obtained to a popular nomination of its dukes or governors.† The wealthy Italians had commerce with Syria, and therefore enjoyed fairer opportunities than most other people to visit the hallowed haunts of pilgrims. They belonged to the Romish church, and were equally incommoded by the heresy of the Greeks, and the infidelity of the Saracens. They were well known in Cairo, one great seat of the Moslem power, and by means of rich presents to the officers of the caliph, they gained a royal license for the erection of a church in Jerusalem, wherein they might celebrate religious

* William of Apulia bears out this assertion. (Muratori Diss. 30. vol. i. p. 884.)

Urbs hæc dives opum, populoque referta videtur,
Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro.
Partibus innumeris ac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta, maris cælique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe.
Regis et Antiochi. Hæc (etiam?) freta plurima transit.
Hic Arabes, Indi, Siculi noscuntur, et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et meranda ferens, et amans mercata referre.

† Giannone Istoria di Napoli, lib. 7. cap. 3.

CHAP. I. A.D. 1050.

gious service, agreeably to the Latin ritual. A temple was accordingly built near that of the Resurrection, and dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of St. Mary ad Latinos. Provision was also made for the pilgrims of both sexes by means of two hospitals, the chapels of which were put under the protection of St. John the Almoner,* and of St. Mary Magdalen. Some Benedictine monks administered the ceremonies of religion, and the duties of benevolence were performed by such of those pious Europeans, of the Romish communion, as had resolved to end their days in Palestine. The weary palmers found repose, the sick were healed, and the poor were relieved in these houses of charity. Humanity was paramount over the distinctions of sects, and even no unfortunate Muselman ever supplicated at the gate in vain. The alms of the people of Southern Italy, and of their conquerors, the Normans, supported the establishment, and the merchants of Amalfi were its faithful trustees.†

* St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria, was a fit patron saint; for when, in the seventh century, Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Saracens, he sent money and provisions to the afflicted christians, and supplied such as fled into Egypt. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 274. ed. 1812.

† Glaber, lib. 1. c. 5, in Du Chesne, vol. iv, Archb. of Tyre, p. 934-935.

CHAP. I.

Tendency of an opinion prevalent in the tenth century.

But no principles of ecclesiastical discipline, no causes whether superstitious or commercial, gave such strength to the spirit of pilgrimising, as the opinion which distinguished the tenth century, that the reign of Antichrist was at hand.* The people, judging of divine matters by human, attributed to a great and good God all the angry passions of mortality. They underwent the austerities of the cloister, and the pains and labours which the monks imposed. God's vicegerents on earth were propitiated by costly gifts, and so strong was the fanaticism, that private property was suffered to decay, and noble edifices were destroyed, from the conviction of their approaching inutility. From every quarter of the Latin world the poor affrighted christians, deserting their homes and ordinary occupations, crowded to the holy land. The belief was general, that on the place of his former suffering Christ would judge the world: his zealous but ignorant votaries thought, that these voluntary sacrifices and penances would be acceptable with heaven. Years rolled on years; the thunderbolts of vengeance remained in the skies; nature held her appointed course. The world discovered that its interpretations of prophecy had been rash and presumptuous; but Jerusalem became dearer than ever to the christian

* Revelations, ch. 20. v. 2-4.

CHAP. I.

tians, because it had been the subject of their reflections and feelings.

Account of a pilgrimage made by some Normans, Englishmen, &c.

Most of the causes of pilgrimages arrived, in the eleventh century, at the height of their influence and effect. The history of that period abounds with narratives of devotional expeditions.* The clergy of Germany had proclaimed their intention of visiting Jerusalem; and Ingulph, a native and historian of England, was one of a Norman troop which joined them at Mayence. The total number of pilgrims was seven thousand, and among the leaders are the names, respectable for rank, of the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Bamberg, Ratisbon, and Utrecht. Their march down Europe, and through the Greek empire, was peaceable and unmolested; but when they entered the territory of the infidels, they fell into the hands of Arab robbers, and it was not without great losses of money and lives that the band reached Jerusalem. The pilgrims were met by the patriarch, and the Latins and Syrians of the city. They made a solemn procession to the sepulchre, amidst the clangor of cymbals, and a brilliant display of lights; † and the religious feelings of the strangers are well expressed by

* Gretser, de Sacris Peregrin. lib. 1. c. 6.

† Grandi cymbalorum tonitru et luminarium immenso fulgore.—Ingulph.

by the declaration of one of them, that Jesus Christ, the inhabitant of the temple, alone knew the number of prayers which they offered up; the tears they shed; the sighs they breathed. They then viewed the other parts in the city venerable in the imagination, and particularly some direful effects of Saracenian zeal. Their grief at the sight of holy ruins nourished their devotion, and they wished to bathe in the river Jordan, and to kiss with divine rapture all the places where Christ had exercised his ministry: but troops of Arabs were ever on the watch to fall upon the traveller; and it consequently was dangerous to go far from Jerusalem. A party of Genoese arrived in the holy land for the objects of trade and religion. From them the Germans purchased a return to Europe; they embarked at Jaffa, and were landed at Brundisium. After viewing with religious veneration the monuments of the martyrs at Rome, the archbishop and his flock returned to Germany, and Ingulph took the road for France. Of more than thirty Norman horsemen who had accompanied our English pilgrim, scarcely twenty remained, and they pursued their way to their homes on foot, ill, weary, and pennyless.*

 The

* Ingulphi Historia, p. 903, 904, in the Scriptores post Bedam. Mariani Scoti Chronica, p. 429.

CHAP. I.

State of the Latins in Palestine.

The state of the Latin pilgrims and residents in the holy land was that of sunshine and storms; * and the vicissitudes did not arise from any uncertainty in Muselman law, but from the different characters of those who, from time to time, moved the machine of government. The propagation of religion was the active principle of Islamism, and war the instrument. Consistently with this spirit, such of the Christian nations as had been subjugated by the Moslems, were treated by their conquerors with stronger feelings than the common fierceness and cruelty of victors. The Koran considered its foes as the enemies of God, and genuine Islamism hated and despised those who had obstinately resisted celestial calls. The fancied possession of divine favour was productive of a feeling of contempt and uncharitableness for such as had been deserted by heaven in the day of battle. The Muselmans found it convenient, indeed, to tolerate

* Sic igitur civitate Deo amabili et sacrosancta, peccatis nostris exigentibus, infidelium subjectâ hostium ditioni, jugum indebitæ servitutis continuis passa est laboribus per annos quadringentos nonaginta, conditionibus alternis. Nam frequenti rerum mutatione, dominos mutavit frequentius: secundum quorum dispositionem, *plerumque lucida, plerumque nubila,* recepit intervalla; et ægrotantis more, temporum præsentium, gravabatur, aut respirabat, qualitate. Archb. of Tyre, p. 630.

rate that which they could not destroy, and to enjoy their triumph by protracted oppression. Conversion or tribute was the choice offered to Christians. Two pieces of gold was the annual price of the safety of every individual *infidel* in Jerusalem: a patriarch and an episcopal establishment of clergy were permitted, and the congregation of the tributaries lived in the quarter of the city where the church of the resurrection stood. The protection which they were seemingly entitled to did not raise their condition much above that of slaves. The smallness of their houses and the meanness of their dress marked the degradation of their state, and persecution banished generous sentiments. Yet humanity occasionally prevailed over an inhuman religion, and the Saracenic governors exclaimed, "the pilgrims cannot have "left their country for bad purposes; they only "seek to fulfil their law." The most peaceful days of the Christians were in the caliphate of Harun al Raschid, one of the patrons of Arabian literature. His liberal views embraced the west as well as the east. When the ministers of Charlemagne arrived at Jerusalem with their master's presents to the sepulchre, the caliph not only received them with kindness and respect, but sent the keys of the city to his great con-

 temporary.

CHAP. I. temporary.* Soon afterwards, a tax was levied by the emperor for the repair of the churches in Palestine; and a large hospital and a library in Jerusalem commemorated the liberality of Charlemagne.† The state of the Christians increased in

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 630. Eginhart, 80, 81. This delivery of the keys to Charlemagne has given birth to controversy. Some writers have magnified it into a surrender of the Holy Land; and others, astonished at the liberality of a Saracen, have denied the story altogether. The plain fact is, Harun gave Charlemagne, as lord of the Christians, dominion over the temple to which the European population had flocked. The Christians were not relieved from the capitation tax: at least, if Harun remitted it, his successors enforced it. In Moslem countries seldom is the act of a sovereign considered binding on his successor. The common story of Charles's journey to Palestine is fabulous.

† Mabillon, Acta Ben. sec. 3. p. 2. Three centuries before the time of Charlemagne there was a monastery at Jerusalem for the reception of travellers. Greg. Turv. de Marty, lib. i. c. 11. It seems that the first, or at least one of the first houses for the reception of indigent sick, was the one which was built at Rome by Fabiola, a Roman lady, in the course of the fifth century. Houses of reception for travellers were absolutely necessary when religious journies were considered a moral duty; and, as the obligation included the poor as well as the rich, many of those houses were charitable establishments. Jerome built an hospital at Bethlem; and his friend Paula caused several to be erected on the road to that village, in order that the devout idlers, as she says, might fare better than the mother of God, who, on her necessary journey thither, could find no inn. See the

in misery under the Fatimite caliphs. Hakem, the third prince, passed all former limits of cruelty. He called himself the personal image of God, and his audacity awed several thousand people into a belief in his claims. He hated and persecuted alike both Jews and Christians, but as vanity and fanaticism had not altogether obliterated all traces of education, he tolerated the Muselmans. At his command the church of the resurrection and the rock of the sepulchre were greatly injured. But with the versatility of unprincipled passion he ordered, before his death, that the church should be restored. His successors, however, imitated his example, and despised his command. Long established custom was considered no privilege from an increase to the tribute. All religious ceremonies and processions were prohibited. Property was insecure: children were torn from their parents; the daughters were led to prostitution, the sons to apostacy. The fortitude of the Christians triumphed, and with the pecuniary aid of the Greek emperor, and *perhaps* by the influence of an eminent Muselman woman that had secretly renounced the errors of her fathers, they restored the edifice which commemorated the most wonderful passage in their Redeemer's life. This

 work

the Epistles of Jerome, cited in Beckman's History of Inventories, vol. iv. p. 471.

CHAP. I. work was accomplished amidst a thousand dangers. The Moslems did not cease to torment them. The lives of the Christians were often sacrificed, and though, according to the principles of Muhammedan jurisprudence, even a true believer should be condemned to the bowstring for the murder of a tributary infidel, yet the friends of the victims to fanaticism could never obtain legal justice. Every new governor gratified his avarice and savageness at the expense of the Christians, and each murmur of grief and outcry of indignation, were answered by the threat that the church of the resurrection should be destroyed.*

In considering the state of Jerusalem under the Seljukian and Ortokite Turks, we must give the fullest import to words of wretchedness. These people were newly converted Moslems; they fought in the name and for the support of the doctrines of the Abassidan caliphs, and their enthusiasm was fresh and vigorous. The Fatimites were regarded as enemies; and when the Seljuks conquered Jerusalem, the swords of the Turks were plunged with undistinguishing cruelty into the hearts of Egyptians and Christians. The conquerors had not been long enough in the south to have shaken

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 631; Gretser, 68; Renaudot, Hist. Pat. Alexand. p. 390, 397, 400, 401.

shaken off any of their original and native barbarity. They lived in tents near the towns which they seized, and the hardihood of their savage simplicity mocked the elegant defencelessness of luxury and commerce.

Effects of the Moslems' cruelty.

The cruelties which the Christians experienced in the days of the Fatimite caliphs gave rise to new feelings in the nations of the west. Every pilgrim brought home tales of public sacrilege or individual misery; and though some gloomy minds might consider afflictions as the essence of pilgrimages, and were therefore slow in separating the superfluous from the necessary pains, yet upon general considerations it was evidently a disgrace that the followers of Christ should dwell only by sufferance in the country of their master, and that pagans* should be possessors of a land which HE had consecrated by his presence. At the close of the tenth century, Pope Sylvester II., the ornament of his age, entreated the church universal

Pope Silvester II. plans a crusade.

* Pagan and Paynim are words in frequent use among the writers of the middle ages, for those who followed the doctrines of the Arabian prophet. Le Souldan, says Joinville, estoit le plus puissant roy de toute Payennie. See Du Cange, glossary, article Paganismus. The people of the west thought that the Saracens adored a plurality of gods, and that Muhammed himself was an object of worship. Mahoun signified the Devil, and Mawmettes idols, in old English.

CHAP. I.

to succour the church of Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulchre which the prophet Isaiah had said should be a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer Satan were making inglorious.* Pisa was the only city which was roused to arms, and all her efforts were mere predatory incursions on the Syrian coast.†

Effects in Europe of the political changes in Asia.

In the next century, political events in the Grecian and Saracenian worlds occasioned a renewal of the endeavour to arm Christendom against Islamism. The conquest of Jerusalem by the generals of Malek Shah has been already mentioned. Not long before that event, Alp Arslan had added the Grecian provinces of Georgia and Armenia to the Tartarian monarchy. Constantinople trembled for her safety, and the Emperor Manuel VII. about the year 1073, supplicated the aid of Pope Gregory VII., expressed deep respect for his Holiness, and attachment to the Latin church. The spiritual sovereign immediately commanded the patriarch of Venice to proceed to Constantinople, and arrange the terms of friendship and reunion. An encyclical letter was sent from Rome to the states and princes of the west, acquainting them with

Wish of Gregory VII. respecting the state of the east.

* Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens, &c. vol. x. p. 426.

† The Lives of the Popes in Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. vol. iii. pars 1, p. 400.

with the melancholy fact, that the pagans were overcoming the Christians. The people of Christ had been slain like sheep, and their remorseless murderers had carried their devastations even to the walls of the Imperial city. The faithful ought to lament for the misfortunes of the empire, and the miseries of their brethren: they should not, however, lament only; but, following the example of their divine master, they should give up their lives for their friends. Accordingly, fifty thousand men prepared themselves to rescue the Christians of the east, and to arrest the march of Islamism. So highly was Gregory elated at the ambitious prospect, which the application of Manuel and the armament of Europe opened to his mind, that he even determined to lead the sacred host, and to commit the custody of the Holy See to his great compeer, Henry IV. of Germany.* But all ideas of a crusade soon died away, and the Pope deserted the general interests of religion in his ambitious

* Ep. Greg. lib. I. 49, II. 31, 37, in Labbe, Concilia, vol. 10. It is evident from the letters of Gregory, that the extinction of heresy, the union of the two churches, and the general triumph of the Christian over the Moslem cause, were the great objects of the Pope. Palestine does not seem to have been much thought of. There is only one allusion to it. He says, that 50,000 people had agreed to march to the sepulchre of Christ if he would lead them.

CHAP. I.

ambitious attempts to establish the supreme dominion of papal royalty over the whole of Europe.

History of Asia Minor.

The loss of Georgia and Armenia was quickly followed by other disasters, and the Turkish power advanced to Constantinople. After having subdued almost all the countries of Asia which owed allegiance to the throne of Bagdad, the Sultan, Malek Shah, commanded his relation, Soliman, to subjugate the territories which were situated between Syria and the Bosphorus. The mighty conquest was achieved, and the generous Sultan elevated his victorious Emir to the dignity of prince over these fresh acquisitions. Nice, in Bithynia, was the capital of the new kingdom of the Seljuks, and the Grecian Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, after having endeavoured to recover Asia Minor, was obliged, by the formal instrument of a treaty, to acknowledge the power of his enemies. The city of Antioch had been wrested from the Saracens by the Emperor Diogenes; but the general whom the Byzantine court had appointed governor basely deserted his allegiance, entered into alliances with the Muselmans, and even offered to oblige his new friends by renouncing his religion. His son, however, from motives unrecorded and inscrutable, called in the aid of the Nissian monarch. Soliman quickly made himself master

master of Antioch: but he declined to pay the accustomed tribute to Aleppo; a war ensued, and the Moslem lords of both cities were slain. Asia Minor became the scene of great disorders: Nice was ruled by Abulcasem, a general of Soliman; but the Greeks began to raise their heads, when they saw the Turks no longer supported by the great Seljukian Sultan. The lord of Nice entertained the daring hope of subjugating the Greek empire, but Alexius Comnenus baffled all his designs, and even regained much of Nicomedia. Malek Shah claimed the sovereignty over all the countries which had been torn from the Greeks and Saracens. Abulcasem refused submission; took up arms against his liege lord, and solicited and obtained the promise of aid from the Greek emperor. Alexius resolved to send only a small army, which should not co-operate with his ally; but should, in the general disorganisation of affairs, possess itself of Nice. His troops marched into Asia Minor; the soldiers of the Seljukian Sultan took flight; and the Greeks gained a partial sovereignty over the capital of Bithynia. Malek Shah continued his endeavours to fix his imperial dominion on all the Turkish states. His religion gave way to his politics; he even offered to marry the daughter of the Greek emperor, and to restore to him all the Grecian territories at that

CHAP. I.

that time in Turkish power, if the court of Constantinople would join him in chastising the rebellion of his Emir, Abulcasem, and of several other generals, who, on the death of Soliman, had divided his kingdom. Alexius took no vigorous measures to strengthen his southern frontier, but endeavoured to preserve the friendship both of the Sultan and Abulcasem. The final issue of this crooked policy was prevented, however, by the death of both his Turkish rivals. The family of Soliman gained their liberty when their jealous master, Malek, died; the people of Nice rejoiced to see the children of their former lord, and Kilidge Arslan became sole and undisputed Sultan of Bithynia.*

A.D. 1092.

Continuation of the effects of the Moslems' cruelty.

Though the soldiers of Gregory did not march into Palestine, and the state of Asia was not affected by his preparations, yet the public mind of Europe received additional conviction that a war with the Muselmans in the east was both virtuous and necessary. The unparalleled barbarities of the Ortokites were heard of with indignation in the west. The blood-thirstiness of the lords of the holy city was only checked by their avarice. To prohibit the Christians from pilgrimages and commerce would have proved a serious loss to the revenues of the state; but the Turks considerably increased the capitation

* De Guignes, tome ii. livre xi. p. 1—11. tome i. p. 245.

capitation tax, and as their cruelties made holy journeys more meritorious, the number of pilgrims suffered no diminution. The wealthy stranger was immediately and violently robbed. Though the simple palmer was the emblem of religious poverty, yet as the Turks could not appreciate the force and self-denial of his pious fervor, they thought it was impossible that any one could have undertaken so long a journey without possessing a large pecuniary viaticum. Unrestrained by humanity in the rigor of their search, they ripped open the bodies of their victims, or waited the slower consequences of an emetic of scammony water.*

Religious and military spirit of Europe.

Every year the passion of indignation and the desire of revenge gained force in the breasts of the Latins, and the chivalric character of the times could not brook the insults of the Muselmans. That flame was still alive which had consumed the Roman empire; arms were more powerful than the laws; barbarian fierceness than christian mildness. Possession of land was the consequence of valour, and to the minds of nations of warriors the mode of tenure should be the same as the mode of acquisition. Continental

* Guibert, a good witness for the events of the first crusade, mentions the singular circumstance in the text, p. 480.

CHAP. I. nental Europe was divided among an armed aristocracy: the names and titles of king and emperor were held by the successors of Charlemagne; but the barons were the peers rather than the subjects of their feudal lords. The sword encouraged and decided disputes; no one would acquire by labour what he could gain by blood: martial excellence was the point of ambition; for it was the sole road to distinction, the only test of merit. Like the Muselmans, the Christians thought that conquest was the surest proof of divine approbation, and that heaven would never sanction the actions of the wicked. The feudal law in the eleventh century was a mere military code, a system of provisions for attack and defence; the voice of religion was seldom heard amidst the din of arms; and fierceness, violence, and rapine, prevailed in the absence of social order and morals. Private war desolated Europe, the nobles were robbers, and most castles were but dens of thieves, and receptacles of plunder. Churchmen as well as laymen held their estates by the return of military service. They often accompanied their armed vassals with the lord in his warlike expeditions; and it would have been remarkable, if at all times the only office which they performed was that of encouraging the soldiers

to

to battle.* As the clergy were taken from the people at large, it was natural that they should on many points possess popular feelings and manners. They partook, therefore, of the violent character of the age. Some made robbery a profession; and the voice even of the wisest among them would not have been listened to in national assemblies if they had not been clad in armour.† The ecclesiastical writers of the time call their superiors tyrants rather than pastors, and reprehend them for resorting to arms rather than to civil laws and church authority. Yet the clergy did much towards accustoming mankind to prefer the authority of law to the power of the sword. At their instigation private wars ceased for certain periods, and on particular days, and the observance of the *Truce of God*

* The words of Guido, an abbot of Clairville, are remarkable:—Olim non habebant castella et arces ecclesiæ cathedrales, nec incedebant pontifices loricati. Sed nunc propter abundantiam temporalium rerum, flamma, ferro, cæde possessiones ecclesiarum prælati defendunt, quas deberent pauperibus erogare. Du Cange, Gloss. Lat. art. Advocatus. Bishops often appear in old romances in a military as well as a sacerdotal capacity.

† The laws, at variance with opinion, prohibited the clergy from bearing arms. They were repeatedly threatened with the loss of ecclesiastical situations if they went to war. Baluzius, Capitularia Regum Francorum, p. 164 and p. 932.

CHAP. I. *God* * was guarded by the terrors of excommunication and anathema. Christianity could not immediately and directly change the face of the world; but she mitigated the horrors of the times by infusing herself into warlike institutions. As the investiture of the toga was the first honour conferred on the Roman youth, so the Germans were incited to ideas of personal consequence, by receiving from their lord, their father, or some near relation, in a general assembly, a lance and a shield. Each petty prince was surrounded by many valiant young men, who formed his ornament in peace, his defence in war.† Military education was common with the German and other conquering nations, both in their original settlements, and in their new acquisitions: and when the tribes of

* This benevolent practice was of high origin. Tacitus mentions, as the only remarkable circumstance among the Angles and many other nations, that at particular seasons the symbol of the earth was carried in sacred procession through the countries where the supposed mother of all things was worshipped, and that during this religious journey the voice of foreign wars and domestic broils was hushed. Germania, c. 40.

† Tacitus calls them comites; and subsequent Latin writers, milites. These words do not convey the idea of obligation to service which are contained in the German word knecht, or the Saxon cniht.

of the north had renounced idolatry, and adopted the religion of the south, the ceremony of creating a soldier became changed from the delivery of a lance and shield to the girding of a sword on the candidate; the church called upon him to swear always to protect her, and christian morality added the obligations of rescuing the oppressed, and preserving peace.* A barrier was thus raised against cruelty and injustice; and objects of desire, distinct from rapine and plunder, were before the eyes of martial youth. The true knight was courteous and humane; stern and ferocious. His various duties determined his character. As protector of the weak, his mind was elevated and

* Du Cange, article Militare. Du Cange shews that religious ceremonies were used in the investiture of knights, before the crusades. See too Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. 53. The minute ceremonies of initiation differed in various countries. The order of knighthood, like the priesthood, was called a holy order. The candidate had his sponsors: he confessed his sins, was regenerated in the bath, received the communion, and, in short, every thing was done that could impress a stamp of sanctity upon the society. Religion gave the character and objects of the institution; and war became, in some measure, virtue. Every freeman was qualified to be a cavalier, and as knights as well as princes, barons and bishops, might create knights, there was no difficulty in acquiring the name of a soldier.

CHAP. I. and softened, generous and disinterested. But the enemies of the church, as well as the foes of morals, were the objects of his hatred; he became the judge of opinions as well as of actions, and military spirit prompted him to destroy rather than to convert infidels and heretics. The engrafting of the virtues of humanity and the practical duties of religion on the sanguinary qualities of the warrior, was a circumstance beneficial to the world. But the mixture of the apostle and the soldier was an union which reason abhors. It gave rise to a feeling of violent animosity against the Saracens, and was a strong and active cause of the Crusades.

CHAP. II.

A HOLY WAR DECREED—MORAL CONVULSION OF EUROPE—FATE OF THE FIRST CRUSADERS.

Peter the Hermit......His pilgrimage to Jerusalem ......He resolves to preach a holy war......His wish embraced by Urban II......Policy of that Pope ......Peter's preaching......Councils of Placentia and of Clermont......Urban's speech at Clermont ......The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon ......The crusade embraced by Europe......Departure of the European rabble......First division...... Its destruction in Bulgaria......Second division...... Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece...... And destruction in Bithynia......Third division...... Its destruction in Hungary......Fourth and last division......Its shocking superstition......Cruelties on the German Jews......Destruction in Hungary.

A. D. 1093. Peter the Hermit.

In times when a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was regarded as the duty of every Christian, and when war was the occupation and the delight of Europe, Peter, a native of Amiens, in France, kindled that false and fatal zeal which for two centuries spread its devastating and consuming fires. In his youth he performed feudal military service under the banners of Eustace de Bouillon,

 father

CHAP. II. father of Godfrey VI. duke of Lorraine: but he did not long aspire after the honours of a hero He became the husband of a lady of the noble family of Roussy, but as she was old, poor, and ugly, his vanity and his ambition were not gratified by the marriage. His next characters were those of a priest and an anchorite;* and since in his subsequent life he was usually clad in the weeds of a solitary, his cotemporaries surnamed him the Hermit. As the last means of expiating some errors of his early days, he resolved to undergo the pains and perils of a journey to the holy land. When he started from the shade of obscurity, his small and mean person was macerated by austerities; his face was thin and care worn; but his eye spoke thought and feeling, and atoned for the general insignificance of his appearance. His imagination was sanguine, but his judgment was weak: and therefore his long continued speculations upon religion in the cloister and cell, ended in dreams of rapture. He fancied himself invested with divine authority, and what in truth was but the vision of a heated mind, he believed to be a communication from heaven.†

He

* Petrarch, in his treatise, De Vita Solit. lib. ii. sec. iv. c. 1, celebrates Peter as a great example of solitary livers.

† On the person and character of Peter, thus writes the archbishop

His pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

He accomplished his journey to Palestine; and, on his arrival at Jerusalem, went through the usual course of prayers and processions. The sacrilegious and inhuman barbarities of the Turks had excited the indignation of every pilgrim, and affected in the strongest manner the ardent fancy of Peter. With his host, a Latin Christian, he conversed on the subjects of the existing distresses of the faithful, the triumph of infidelity, and the ancient grandeur and modern degradation of the holy city. In the patriarch Symeon, too, the hermit found a kindred spirit; and, by means of an interpreter, they communicated their opinions and feelings. The churchman's account of the afflictions of the people of God were met not only with tears, but the reiterated question, whether no way could be discovered to soften and to terminate them. Symeon declared that these misfortunes were

 the

archbishop of Tyre:—Sacerdos quidam, Petrus nomine, de regno Francorum, de episcopatu Ambianensi, qui et re et nomine cognominabatur Heremita, eodem fervore tractus, Hierosolymam pervenit. Erat autem hic idem staturâ pusillus, et quantum ad exteriorem hominem, personæ contemptibilis. Sed *major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.* Vivacis enim ingenii erat, *et oculum habens perspicacem*, gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium. P. 637. See, too, the collection of passages from the original writers in Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 79, Venice edition.

CHAP. II.

the consequences of sin; that the remedy and redress could not be found among the Greeks, who had already lost half their empire, but among the great nations of the west, whose strength was unimpaired. The hermit replied, that if the people of Europe had certain evidence of these facts, they would provide a remedy. "Write therefore," he continued, "both to the "Pope and the Romish church, and to all the "Latin Christians: and affix to your letter the "seal of your office. As a penance for my sins, "I will travel over Europe; I will describe "to princes and people the degraded state of "the church, and will urge them to repair it."*

He resolves to preach a holy war.

His wish embraced by Urban II.

Possessed of his credentials, but principally trusting in the virtue of his cause, Peter returned to Europe, and repaired to Pope Urban II. who was disputing with Guibert, the friend of the emperor, for the pontificate. The tale was eagerly listened to by the Pope. Urban was religious in the sense in which his age understood religion, and he therefore lamented the direful state of Jerusalem: he was humane, and his tears flowed for the insulted and distressed pilgrims. He had been patronised by Gregory VII. through all the course of ecclesiastical dignities, and had succeeded to the ambition, as well as to the power of

* Archb. of Tyre, 637.

Policy of that Pope.

of his master.* But his religious sympathy and lofty desires were not unmingled with selfish feelings, for it appears from the authority of an excellent witness,† that the Pope conferred upon the subject of Peter's message with Bohemond, prince of Tarentum;‡ and that it was by the advice of this Norman freebooter, that he resolved to direct the martial energies of Europe to foreign ends. It was thought, that if his holiness could kindle the flame of war, auxiliaries might be easily engaged, by whose means he would be able to fix himself in the Vatican, and Bohemond could recover those Grecian territories which for a while had been in the possession of the Normans.§

Peter's preaching.

It might have been supposed, that when the head of Christendom had adopted the cause of the pilgrims, individual exertion would have been useless. But devoted to his object, and swelled in self-importance by his influence with the

* Fulcher, 381. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. V. 516, and the Life of Urban, by P. Pisanus, in the fourth vol. of Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. p. 352.

† William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

‡ For the family history of this prince and its connection with Constantinople, see note B.

§ William of Malmsbury, p. 407.

CHAP. II.

the pope, Peter resolved to preach the deliverance of the sepulchre. He accordingly traversed Italy and France. His dress expressed self-abasement and mortification: it was only a coarse woollen shirt, and a hermit's mantle.* His mode of living was abstemious; but his qualities did not consist of those selfish penances which are the usual virtues of the recluse. He distributed among the poor those gifts which gratitude showered upon himself; he reclaimed the sinner; terminated disputes, and sowed the germs of virtue.† He was every where hailed and considered as the man of God, and even the hairs which fell from his mule were treasured by the people as relics.‡ His exhortations to vengeance on the Turks were heard with rapture, because they reflected the religious sentiments of the day. The love also of romantic adventure and

* Lanea tunica ad purum, cucullo super, utrisque talaribus, byrrho desuper induebatur; brachis minime, nudipes autem. Guibert, lib. ii. cap. 8.

† Guibert, 482. Archb. of Tyre, 638. Museum Italicum, vol. i. p. 131.

‡ Quidquid agebat namque, seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, præsertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur. Guibert, p. 482. The original historians, seldom backward in ascribing speeches to the great characters of the crusades, have not reported any of the sermons of Peter.

and the desire of chivalric danger sympathised with the advice of the preacher. Religion and heroism were in unison. In some minds, moreover, political considerations had weight, and Europe was regarded as the ally of Constantinople. About the year 1085, Count Robert I. of Flanders, following the religious fashion of the times, endeavoured to expiate his offences against heaven by the pains of pilgrimage. In the course of his return from Jerusalem to Europe, he visited the Grecian court. He promised Alexius five hundred horsemen; and he lost no time in succouring his imperial friend. But the Turkish power continued formidable; and while the fortunes of Constantinople stood on a perilous edge, the emperor implored all Europe to arm itself against Asia.*

In

* It is certain that Alexius implored the succour of the west. No correct transcripts of his letters have been preserved. All the versions are in Latin. One of them has a clause, that Alexius would rather that his empire should be possessed by the Latin Christians than by the Turks. "Constantinople," he adds, "is rich in gold and in relics, "and you will find an ample reward for your labours." This clause bears strong marks of forgery. Could the emperor so coolly have devoted his capital to pillage? The Greeks too hated the Latins with more bitterness than they hated the Turks. It may be remarked, by the way, that in Guibert's abstract of the letter, the assistance of the Europeans is courted by the promise of the possession of the

CHAP. II.

In order to rouse and concentrate the mighty powers of holy zeal, Urban assembled two councils of clergy and laymen; one in Italy, the seat of his influence, and the other in France, whither he had been invited by Raymond, count of Tholouse, and the bishop of Chorges.* France, too, was the most military country of the west, and had often acquired fame in sacred wars. The march of Saracenian victory had been closed at Tours. Pepin le Bref, son of Charles Martel, dispossessed the Arabs of Languedoc and Provence, and Charlemagne himself gained laurels and

the Greek ladies. The Frenchman is indignant that the emperor should think that the Grecian women were more handsome than those of France, or that people would travel into Greece merely for the sake of beholding feminine beauty.—Quasi Græcarum mulierum species tanta esset, ut Gallicis modo quolibet præferrentur; solaque earum causa Francorum exercitus in Thraciam ageretur. Guibert, p. 476, in Bongarsius. It seems from Du Cange (note on p. 160 of the Alexiad) that Alexius entreated succour not later than the year 1092, and certainly before the death of the great Seljukian princes. Although the versions of his letter differ materially, yet there is a strong tone of misery and humiliation running through them all, which would not have been the case, if the application for assistance had been made after the days of Malek Shah and Soliman. Those distinguished men were the main supporters of Turkish greatness.

* Malmsbury, 470, 474.

and possessions in the north of Spain. Instigated as much by national valour, as by religious principle, the French, in the middle of the eleventh century, fought under William duke of Aquitain against the Saracens. The Christians in Spain had also been succoured by Hugh duke of Burgundy, and afterwards by his son Eudes.*

Council of Placentia. March 1095.

In March 1095, the Tuscan and Lombard bishops met Urban at Placentia. The legates of Alexius were admitted to the council, in order to shew the necessity of driving the Turks from the confines of Europe; and the resolution of Urban and the prelates, that it was just and politic to assist the emperor of Greece in punishing the Pagans, was approved by inferior clergy and laity, whose numbers have been estimated at four thousand of the former class, and thirty thousand of the latter.† The clerical and secular people of the west were summoned to council in the city of Clermont, the capital of the Lower Auvergne, in the month of November, subsequently to the holding of the Placentian assembly. The dukes of Aquitain and lords of Auvergne had long established their independence

* See the preface to the fourteenth vol. of the great collection of French historians, begun by Dom. Bouquet.

† Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. III. 353. Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 500, &c.

CHAP. II. independence over the Francic successors of Charlemagne; but as they were the personal friends of king Philip I. the enemy of Urban,* the circumstance is remarkable, that their territories should be chosen for the seat of the meeting.† Individuals of every class of laymen, and every rank of the ecclesiastical order, flocked to Clermont, from all parts of France and Germany; and the deliberations were carried on in an open square, for no hall could contain the unprecedented multitude.‡ The neighbouring villages and towns were full of men, and the poorest people were happy in the shelter of tents. Seven days were occupied in making decrees on matters of local and temporary interest, and in issuing canons for the edification of manners. The greatest subject was reserved for the eighth day of the sitting of the council. The Pope ascended the pulpit, and exhorted his anxious auditors to make war on the enemies of God. "You

Council of Clermont 1095, 18th, 28th Nov.

* Philip the First was a monster of sensuality and listlessness. The Pope's legate, thirty bishops, and other clergy, excommunicated him at a council held at Autun, in 1094.

† L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 356.

‡ Guibert (p. 478) estimates the bishops and abbots at more than four hundred; Fulcher (p. 382) at three hundred. General expressions, and not numerical statements, are made of the other ranks of the assembly.

CHAP. II.

Pope Urban's speech.

"You recollect,"* said he, "my dearest bre-
"thren, many things which have been decreed
"for you, at this time; some matters in our
"council, commanded; others inhibited. A rude
"and confused chaos of crimes required the
"deliberation of many days: an inveterate
"malady demanded a sharp remedy. For
"awhile we gave unbounded scope to our
"clemency; our papal office finds numberless
"matters to proscribe, none to spare. But it
"has hitherto arisen from human frailty, that
"you have erred; and that, deceived by the
"speciousness

* The speech of Urban is variously given by different authors. "They all differ in the mould, but agree in the metal," as Fuller says, Holy War, b. i. c. 8. Robert, p. 31. Baldric, p. 79. Fulcher, p. 382. Arch. of Tyre, p. 639. Labbe, Concilia, tom. x. Robert was present, and his relation of the speech may be one of those which can be depended on. William of Malmsbury (p. 410, 415) had an account of the proceedings from eye-witnesses, and as he had more genius than any writer of his age, his version of this celebrated oration is more interesting than that of any other author. He says, that he was anxious to preserve the general sense unimpaired, though he has omitted many particulars; and he modestly adds, that he could not retain the force of the Pope's eloquence. I have adopted his *attempt;* and inserted it in the text as translated by Mr. Shepherd. Some writers have thonght that the early historians did not sufficiently study the science of effect: a speech has therefore been invented, and attributed to Peter; but history has nothing to do with speeches which *ought* to have been spoken.

CHAP. II.

"speciousness of vice, you have exasperated "the long suffering of God, by too lightly "regarding his forbearance. It has arisen, too, "from human wantonness, that, disregarding "lawful wedlock, you have not duly consi-"dered the heinousness of adultery. From "too great covetousness, also, it has arisen, "that, as opportunity offered, making captive "your brethren, bought by the same great "price, you have outrageously extorted from "them their wealth. To you, however, now "suffering this perilous shipwreck of sin, a "secure haven of rest is offered, unless you "neglect it. A station of perpetual safety will "be awarded you, for the exertion of a trifling "labour against the Turks. Compare, now, "the labours which you undertook in the "practice of wickedness, and those which you "will encounter in the undertaking I advise. "The intention of committing adultery, or "murder, begets many fears; for, as Solomon "says, 'There is nothing more timid than guilt;' "many labours, for what is more toilsome than "wickedness? But, 'he who walks uprightly, "'walks securely.' Of these labours, of these "fears, the end was sin; the wages of sin is "death, and the death of sinners is most dread-"ful. Now the same labours and apprehen-"sions are required from you, for a better con-"sideration.

"sideration. The cause of these labours will "be charity; if, thus warned by the command "of God, you lay down your lives for the "brethren: the wages of charity will be the "grace of God; the grace of God is followed "by eternal life. Go, then, prosperously: go, "then, with confidence, to attack the enemies "of God. For they long since, oh, sad re-"proach to Christians! have seized Syria, Ar-"menia, and lastly, all Asia Minor, the pro-"vinces of which are Bithynia, Phrygia, Ga-"latia, Lydia, Caira, Pamphylia, Isauria, "Licia, Cilicia; and, now they insolently "domineer over Illyricum, and all the higher "countries, even to the sea, which is called "the Straits of St. George. Nay, they usurp "even the sepulchre of our Lord, that singular "assurance of faith; and sell to our pilgrims "admissions to that city, which ought, had "they a trace of their ancient courage left, to "be open to Christians only. This alone might "be enough to cloud our brows; but now, "who, except the most abandoned, or the most "envious of Christian reputation, can endure "that we do not divide the world equally with "them? They inhabit Asia, the third portion "of the world, as their native soil; which was "not improperly esteemed by our ancestors "equal, by the extent of its tracts and greatness "of

CHAP. II.

"of its provinces, to the two remaining parts.
"There, formerly, sprung up the branches of
"our devotion; there, all the apostles, except
"two, consecrated their deaths; there, at the
"present day, the Christians, if any survive,
"sustaining life by a wretched kind of agricul-
"ture, pay these miscreants tribute, and even
"with stifled sighs, long for the participation
"of your liberty, since they have lost their
"own. They hold Africa, also, another quarter
"of the world, already possessed by their arms
"for more than two hundred years; which,
"on this account I pronounce derogatory to
"Christian honour, because that country was
"anciently the nurse of celebrated geniuses,
"who, by their divine writings, will mock the
"rust of antiquity, as long as there shall be a
"person who can relish Roman literature:* the
"learned know the truth of what I say. Eu-
"rope, the third portion of the world, remains;
"of which, how small a part do we Christians
"inhabit? for who can call all those barba-
"rians who dwell in remote islands of the
"Frozen Ocean, Christians, since they live
"after a savage manner? Even this small
"portion of the world, belonging to us, the
"Turks

* He alludes to St. Augustine and the fathers of the African church.

" Turks and Saracens oppress. Thus, for three
" hundred years, Spain and the Balearic isles
" being subjected to them, the possession of
" the remainder is eagerly anticipated by feeble
" men, who, not having courage to engage
" in close encounter, love a flying mode of war-
" fare ; for the Turk never ventures upon close
" fight, but when driven from his station, bends
" his bow at a distance, and trusts the winds
" with his meditated wound ; and as he has
" poisoned arrows, venom, and not valour, in-
" flicts death on the man he strikes. What-
" ever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune,
" not to courage, because he wars by flight,
" and by poison. It is apparent, too, that every
" race, born in that region, being scorched
" with the intense heat of the sun, abounds
" more in reflexion, than in blood ; and, there-
" fore, they avoid coming to close quarters,
" because they are aware how little blood they
" possess. Whereas the people who are born
" amid the polar frosts, and distant from the
" sun's heat, are less cautious indeed ; but,
" elate from their copious and luxuriant flow
" of blood, they fight with the greatest ala-
" crity. You are a nation born in the more
" temperate regions of the world ; who may be
" both prodigal of blood, in defiance of death
" and wounds ; and are not deficient in pru-

 " dence.

CHAP. II.

"dence. For, you equally preserve good con-
"duct in camp, and are considerate in battle.
"Thus, endued with skill and with valour,
"you undertake a memorable expedition. You
"will be extolled throughout all ages, if you
"rescue your brethren from danger. To those
"present, in God's name, I command this; to
"the absent I enjoin it. Let such as are going
"to fight for christianity put the form of the
"cross upon their garments, that they may,
"outwardly, demonstrate the love arising from
"their inward faith; enjoying by the gift of
"God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolu-
"tion from all their crimes: let this in the
"mean time sooth the labours of their journey;
"satisfied that they shall obtain, after death,
"the advantages of a blessed martyrdom.
"Putting an end to your crimes, then, that
"christians may at least live peaceably in
"these countries, go, and employ in nobler
"warfare that valour, and that sagacity, which
"you used to waste in civil broils: go, sol-
"diers every where renowned in fame, go, and
"subdue these dastardly nations. Let the
"noted valour of the French advance; which,
"accompanied by its adjoining nations, shall
"affright the whole world by the single terror
"of its name. But why do I delay you longer,
"by detracting from the courage of the gen-

"tiles?

" tiles? Rather bring to your recollection the
" saying of God, 'Narrow is the way which
" 'leadeth to life.' Be it then that the track
" to be followed is narrow; replete with death,
" and terrible with dangers: still this path
" must lead to your lost country. No doubt
" you must, 'by much tribulation enter into
" 'the kingdom of God.' Place then before
" your imagination, if you shall be made
" captive, torments and chains; nay, every
" possible suffering that can be inflicted. Ex-
" pect, for the firmness of your faith, even
" horrible punishments, that so, if it be neces-
" sary, you may redeem your souls at the
" expense of your bodies. Do you fear death,
" you men of exemplary courage and intre-
" pidity? Surely human wickedness can devise
" nothing against you, worthy to be put in
" competition with heavenly glory: for 'the
" 'sufferings of the present time are not wor-
" 'thy to be compared to the glory which
" 'shall be revealed in us.' Know you not,
" 'that for men to live is wretchedness, and
" 'happiness to die?' This doctrine, if you
" remember, you imbibed with your mothers'
" milk, through the preaching of the clergy;
" and this doctrine your ancestors, the martyrs,
" held out by their example. Death sets free
" from its filthy prison the human soul, which

CHAP. II.

" then takes flight for the mansions fitted for
" its virtues. Death accelerates their country
" to the good: death cuts short the wickedness
" of the ungodly. By means of death, then,
" the soul, made free, is either soothed with
" joyful hope, or is punished without further
" apprehension of worse. So long as it is fet-
" tered to the body, it derives from it earthly
" contagion: or, to say more truly, is dead.
" For, earthly with heavenly, and divine with
" mortal, ill agree. The soul, indeed, even
" now, in its state of union with the body, is
" capable of great efforts; it gives life to its
" instrument, secretly moving and animating
" it to exertions almost beyond mortal nature.
" But when, freed from the clog which drags
" it to the earth, it regains its proper station, it
" partakes of a blessed and perfect energy, com-
" municating after some measure with the invi-
" sibility of the divine nature. Discharging a
" double office, therefore, it ministers life to
" the body when it is present, and the cause
" of its change, when it departs. You must
" observe how pleasantly the soul wakes in
" the sleeping body, and, apart from the
" senses, sees many future events, from the
" principle of its relationship to the Deity.
" Why then do ye fear death, who love the
" repose of sleep, which resembles death?

" Surely

"Surely it must be madness, through lust of
"a transitory life, to deny yourself that which
"is eternal. Rather, my dearest brethren,
"should it so happen, lay down your lives for
"the brotherhood. Rid God's sanctuary of
"the wicked; expel the robbers; bring in the
"pious. Let no love of relations detain you;
"for man's chiefest love is towards God. Let
"no attachment to your native soil be an
"impediment; because, in different points of
"view, all the world is exile to the christian,
"and all the world his country. Thus exile
"is his country, and his country exile. Let
"none be restrained from going by the large-
"ness of his patrimony, for a still larger is
"promised him; not of such things as soothe
"the miserable with vain expectation, or flatter
"the indolent disposition with the mean advan-
"tages of wealth, but of such as are shewn by
"perpetual example, and approved by daily
"experience. Yet these too are pleasant,
"but vain, and which, to such as despise them,
"produce reward an hundred-fold. These
"things I publish, these I command: and for
"their execution I fix the end of the ensuing
"spring. God will be gracious to those who
"undertake this expedition, that they may
"have a favourable year, both in abundance of
"produce, and in serenity of season. Those

 "who

CHAP. II.

"who may die will enter the mansions of hea-
"ven, while the living shall behold the sepul-
"chre of the Lord. And what can be greater
"happiness, than for a man in his lifetime
"to see those places where the Lord of Heaven
"was conversant as a man? Blessed are they,
"who, called to these occupations, shall inherit
"such a recompense; fortunate are those who
"are led to such a conflict, that they may
"partake of such rewards."

Cries of Deus vult! Deus lo vult! Dieux el volt! interrupted the Pontiff. He then raised his eyes to heaven in thankfulness, and, by the motion of his hand commanding silence, he thus proceeded: "Dearest brethren, to-day is veri-
"fied the scriptural promise, that where two or
"three are gathered together in the name of
"Christ, he will be with them. The power of
"God can alone have caused this unanimity
"of sentiment. Let the very words then which
"his spirit dictated, be your cry of war.
"When you attack the enemy, let the words
"resound from every side, Deus vult! Deus
"vult! * The old, the infirm, the weaker
"sex

* This expression continued for some time the war cry of the first crusaders. All nations in all ages have used particular words for the excitement of martial ardour. The war cries of the French and Germans were excerpts from the Bardic songs in praise of heroes, which were recited before

" sex altogether, must remain in Europe.
" They would be an impediment rather than
" an assistance. In this holy undertaking the
" rich should succour their poorer brethren,
" and equip them for war. The clergy must
" not depart without the license of their
" bishops; for if they should, their journey
" will be fruitless. The people must not go
" without a sacerdotal benediction. Let every
" one mark on his breast or back the sign of
" our Lord's cross,* in order that the saying

 " may

before the battle: from, for instance, the actions of the fabulous Roland and the peers of France. Unlike most of the cries of arms, the expression Deus vult, or Deus id vult, is affirmative. During the siege of Jerusalem, the war cry received the addition of the words, " adjuva Deus." This clause was added on the motion of St. Andrew: " Et sit " signum clamoris vestri, Deus ajuva." Princes, barons, and knights banneret, in short, every person in command had their war cries. In an army, therefore, there were as many proceleusmatick words as there were banners. There was a general cry also, which was usually the name of the commander, or the cry of the king. Raimond, 140, 153. Gesta Francorum, 602. Du Cange in Joinville, Dissert. 12.

* In imitation of Christ, who carried a cross on his shoulders to the place of execution, the cross was generally worn on the right shoulder, or on the upper part of the back; it was also frequently placed on the top of the arm. Red was for a long while, even till the time of Richard I. king of England, the general colour of this cross. The materials of the cross were silk, or gold, or cloth: and the most

CHAP. II.

"may be fulfilled, 'he who takes up the cross "'and follows me is worthy of me.*'"

The redemption of the sepulchre resolved upon.

Tears, and groans, and acclamations of assent and applause, were the answers of the Christian multitude to the exhortation of their spiritual lord. The whole assembly knelt, and the Cardinal Gregory poured forth in their name a general confession of sins. Every one smote his breast in sorrow, and the Pope, stretching forth his hands, absolved and blessed them. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, was the first person who solicited a cross from the Pope. One of red cloth was affixed to his right shoulder; and immediately several ecclesiastics and laymen were invested with the sign of their new character. On the next day Urban was pressed to lead the soldiers of Christ on the road to the holy sepulchre; but he had not the personal daring of his illustrious friend and predecessor, Gregory VII.

most frenzied of the crusaders cut the holy sign on the flesh itself. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 80, and on Villehardouin, No. 21, in which are collected all the passages of the old authors respecting the cross. Demster's Notes to Accolti de bello sacro, p. 51. The pilgrims on their return to Europe generally placed the cross on the back.

* These additions to Malmsbury's report of the speech are important, and have been taken from Robert Monachus, p. 31, in Bongarsius. An account of the writers in Bongarsius, and other original sources of the history of the first crusade, is contained in the Appendix, note C.

VII, and he therefore shrunk from the honourable distinction. In accordance with the general wish, he deputed his spiritual authority to Adhemar, whose manliness had already excited the admiration of the people. At this moment the ambassadors of Raymond, count of Tholouse, arrived. This powerful prince, and a numerous band of cavaliers, had taken the cross; and he promised council and money to all those who should wish to enter on the sacred way. The multitude were no longer in need of a commander, and were not backward in comparing the bishop and the count to Moses and Aaron.* The council of Clermont made the Truce of God perpetual from the evening of every Wednesday to the morning of every succeeding Monday; it was declared that the persons and property of clergy, women, strangers, and merchants, should always be considered sacred from insult and rapine: and as the last great aid to religious inclination, the council decreed that the journey to Jerusalem should stand in the place of all ecclesiastical censures, to those who undertook it from motives of religion,

* Robert, 32. Baldric, 88. The expression of the people's wish to be led by the Pope, is mentioned only in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. I. 135.

CHAP. II. gion, and not from the suggestions of avarice or ambition.*

The Crusade embraced by Europe.

The preaching of Peter,—the entreaties of Alexius,—the councils of Placentia and † Clermont, and the exertions of the Pope,‡—all these

* Labbe, Concilia. X. 507. See Note D.

† Malmsbury's observations are highly curious. "The "report of the council of Clermont wafted a cheering gale "over the minds of Christians. There was no nation so re-"mote, no people so retired, as did not respond to the "papal wishes. This ardent love not only inspired the "continental provinces, but the most distant islands and "savage countries. The Welshman left his hunting; the "Scotch his fellowship with vermin; the Dane his drinking "party; the Norwegian his raw fish." Malmsbury, p. 416. Robert of Gloucester, after mentioning in general terms the contributions of men which France and England made to the holy war, thus curiously mixes other nations:

"Of Normandy, of Denmark, of Norway, of Bretagne,
"Of Wales and of Ireland, of Gascony and of Spain,
"Of Provence and of Saxony, and of Allemagne,
"Of Scotland and of Greece, of Rome and Aquitain."

Chron. p. 393, edit. Hearne.

The Chronicles of Robert of Gloucester, and of Peter Langtoft, are of very little value towards the history of the Crusades.

‡ The Pope wrote to the bishops of England and of other countries, commanding them to press the sacred theme upon their congregations. M. Paris, p. 19, edit. Watts. He went from town to town, from monastery to monastery in France, in order to encourage religious ardour. The affairs at Clermont answered his selfish purposes. On his return to Italy in the year succeeding the council, he was

CHAP. II.

these concurrent causes enkindled the elements of combustion, turned the people of the west from intestine discord to foreign war, from dull superstition to furious zeal. The military enthusiast heard the voice of Charlemagne calling the French to glory. The religious fanatic eagerly and credulously listened to tales of visions and dreams. Every wonderful event in the natural world was regarded as an indication of the divine will. Meteors and stars pointed at and fell on the road to Jerusalem. The skies were involved in perpetual storms; and the blaze and terror of anxious and disordered nature, shewed the terrific harmony of heaven with the sanguinary fury of earth.* Prodigies were not confined to the west. In the states of Greece a marvellous number of locusts destroyed the vineyards, but spared the corn. The discovery that the locusts were the forerunners of the Europeans was an ingenious interpretation of the sign; but the diviners, with more

was received with increased veneration; and, by the aid of the crusaders, who arrived daily at Rome to visit the holy places preparatory to their departure for the East, he made himself master of such parts of the city as had revolted from him. Hist. Lit. de la France, vol. viii.

* Archb. of Tyre, 641. Mus. Ital. I. 135. The lives of the Popes in Muratori, Rerum, Script. Italicarum, vol. iii. p. 352, vol. iv. p. 496.

CHAP. II. more nationality than truth, compared the corn with the sobriety of the eastern Christians, and the vines with the licentiousness of the Saracens.* Man fully responded to the supposed calls of God. The moral fabric of Europe was convulsed; the relations and charities of life were broken; society appeared to be dissolved. Persons of every age, rank, and degree, assumed the cross. The storm of public feeling was raised, and neither reason nor authority could guide its course. The prohibition of women from undertaking the journey was passed over in contemptuous silence. They separated themselves from their husbands, where men wanted faith, or resolved to follow them with their helpless infants. Monks, not waiting for the permission of their superiors, threw aside their black mourning gowns, and issued from their cloisters full of the spirit of holy warriors. They who had devoted themselves to a solitary life, mistook the impulses of passion for divine revelations, and thought that Heaven had annulled their oaths of retirement. A stamp of virtue was fixed upon every one who embraced the cause; and many were urged to the semblance of religion by shame, reproach, and fashion.† The numerous cases of hypocrisy attested

* Alexiad, p. 225.

† Remarquez bien, je vous prie, que je ne prétens pas nier,

attested the commanding influence of the general religious principle. They who had been visited by criminal justice were permitted to expiate, in the service of God, their sins against the world. The pretence of debtors was admitted, that the calls of heaven were of greater obligation than any claims of man. Murderers, adulterers, robbers, and pirates, quitted their iniquitous pursuits, and declared that they would wash away their sins in the blood of the Infidels.* In short, thousands and millions of armed

nier, qu'encore que les croisades fussent une entreprise de dévotion, il n'ait pû y avoir des athées qui en voulurent être, soit pour se faire louer, soit pour éviter le reproche de poltronnerie, ou même celui d'irreligion, soit pour satisfaire leur inclination belliqueuse, ou leur ambition, ou leur curiosité, soit enfin pour commettre mille désordres. Je suis persuadé qu'on peut faire par des motifs d'amour-propre tous les exercices extérieurs de la piété, quelques pénibles qu'ils puissent être. Voici donc ce que je dis; c'est que la prédications et les indulgences avoient animez à cette entreprise, et qui assurément n'abjureroient pas leur religion dans l'ame; lors qu'ils s'abandonnoient à commettre tous les ravages qu'ils commettoient.

Bayle, Penseés Diverses, Oeuvres Diverses, vol. iii. p. 90.

* Archb. of Tyre, p. 641. Ordericus Vitalis, p. 720. "A lamentable case," as Fuller says, "that the devil's "blackguards should be God's soldiers." Hujus (Petri) admonitione assidua et vocatione, episcopi, abbates, clerici et monachi; deinde laici nobilissimi, diversorum regnorum principes; totumque vulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri,

CHAP. II. armed saints and sinners ranged themselves to fight the battles of the Lord.* All nations were enveloped in the whirlwind of superstition. It was people, and not merely armies, countries and not only their military representatives, that thought they had received the divine command to unsheath the sword of the Almighty, and to redeem the sepulchre of Christ.

For some months after the session of the council of Clermont, nothing was heard through Europe but the note of preparation for war. Men of all ranks and degrees purchased horses, and arms, and coin. Such as had not taken the vow, paid for their timidity or prudence by supplying the wants of their enthusiastic brethren. The wretched fanatics alienated their land, or sold their instruments of handicraft

adulteri, homicidæ, fures, perjuri, prædones; universumque genus Christianæ professionis; quin et sexus fæmineus, pænitentia ducti, ad hanc lætantur concurrunt viam. Albertus, Aq. p. 185.

* Fulcher says that six millions of persons assumed the cross. William of Malmsbury, as usual, follows his calculation. Guibert affirms, that all the kingdoms of Europe could not furnish so great a number; but even his language warrants the inference that Fulcher's statement is some approximation to the truth. Prudence and reason often cooled enthusiasm; and various events incident to human life prevented the performance of the vow. Fulcher, p. 386. William of Malmsbury, p. 416. Guibert, p. 556.

craft and husbandry. The caution of the purchasers prevailed over the eagerness of the sellers; and the inequality of the transactions was ridiculed by the cold-hearted and sceptical. Yet, as the contagion of crusading spread, they who had been scoffers became converts; and, like their former objects of satire, sacrificed their property to the necessity of preparation.*

In the spring of the year 1096, the masses of European population began to roll.† But the roads were too narrow for the passengers; the paths were obstructed by the number of travellers. When families divided, nature and fanaticism contended for the mastery. A wife consented to the departure of her husband on his vowing to return at the end of three years. Another, in whom fear was stronger than hope, was lost in violence of grief. The husband wore the semblance of indifference, unmoved by the tears of his wife and the kisses of his children; though his heart reproached him for the

* Guibert in Bongarsius, p. 481. Ordericus Vitalis in Duchesne, 720.

† The spring was the period which the Pope fixed for the departure of the crusaders. See his speech, p. 53, ante. The canons of the council of Clermont, as reported by Labbe, are silent on the matter.

CHAP. II. the sternness of his countenance.* On the other hand, fathers led their sons to the place of meeting: women blessed the moment of separation from their husbands; or, if they lamented, it was from the cause that they were not permitted to share the honours and perils of the expedition.† In some instances the poor rustic shod his oxen like horses, and placed his whole family in a cart, where it was amusing to hear the children, on the approach to any large town or castle, inquiring if the object before them were Jerusalem.‡

The

* I am almost afraid of the imputation of classical heresy for thinking of applying to the crusaders the language of Horace, respecting the departure of Regulus from Rome.

> Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
> Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
> Ab se removisse, et virilem
> Torvus humi posuisse vultum.

† Baldric, p. 88. Guibert, p. 482. Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 385.

‡ Videres mirum quiddam, et plane joco aptissimum, pauperes videlicet quosdam bobus biroto applicitis, eisdemque in modum equorum ferratis, substantiolas cum parvulis in carruca convehere; et ipsos infantulos, dum obviam habent quælibet castella vel urbes, si hæc esset Hierusalem, ad quem tenderent rogitare. Guibert, 482. The simplicity of the children is not extraordinary; for so profound was the ignorance of the French, even of the fourteenth century, on the subject of geography, that in a MS. of that time of the Chronicle of St. Denys, the city of Jerusalem is placed

CHAP. II.

Departure of the European rabble; first division.

The first body of the champions of the cross consisted of twenty thousand foot, and only eight horsemen; and were led by Walter, a gentleman of Burgundy, whose poverty, that evil being more remarkable than his military pretensions, gave him the cognomen of the Pennyless. The people swept along from France to Hungary. Ardent and impetuous, they calculated not the difficulties of the way. Hungary was spread over with marshes, and intersected by rivers; and without the friendship of the natives, a passage could scarcely be effected. But, happily for the Crusaders, Christianity had for nearly two centuries* been the national religion, and the king, Carloman, approved of the wishes of Walter.

 Some

placed in the middle of the map; and Alexandria appears as near to it as Nazareth. Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, vol. xvi. p. 185. The idea of a central position of Jerusalem arose perhaps from a false interpretation of Ezekiel, v. 5. It was common with the ancient heathens, also, that any place particularly beloved by them stood in the middle of the world. Ovid. Met. x. 167. Euripides, Orest. v. 330.

* The conversion of the Hungarians to Christianity (in the tenth century), is mentioned by Glaber Rodolphus as a most convenient event for the spirit of pilgrimizing. Glaber Rod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 1. p. 23. edit. Frank. 1596.

CHAP. II.

Some cruel Hungarians at Malleville, the modern Zemlin, despoiled sixteen of their guests, but the christian leader prudently abstained from revenge, and crossed the Maroe, or Save.

Its destruction in Bulgaria.

The flame of piety had not spread into Bulgaria; the people regarded the pilgrims only as so many savage invaders; and the representative of Alexius forbad all commerce. The cravings of hunger were importunate and irresistible, and the mob of Walter turned their arms against the unfriendly Bulgarians. The din of battle sounded through the whole country; but the natives possessed so many local advantages in the contest, that they gained complete success. The miseries of wars are diversified by the different nature of their objects and their supporters; and, in this contest, there was an event which characterised the age. Some hundreds of Crusaders fled into a church, in certainty that the Bulgarians would never spill blood in the house of God. But although the people would not draw a sword there, yet conscience allowed them to set the edifice on fire. Many of the miserable refugees were burned to death, and others were killed in leaping from the roof. Walter with a few of his associates escaped through the woods of Bulgaria, found his way to Constantinople, and Alexius

Alexius promised him protection till the arrival of Peter.*

Second division.

Forty thousand men, women, and children, of all nations and languages, were accompanied, we cannot say guided, by the Hermit himself.† They followed the route of Walter. The promise of Peter to Carloman for the orderly conduct of his companions was accepted, and a free interchange of money and provisions was permitted between the Crusaders and the Hungarians. Except a few acts of individual outrage, the march to the southern frontier of Hungary was peaceably conducted. But when the mob arrived at Malleville, the sight of the arms and crosses of their precursors on the battlements in triumph, awoke their zeal, and kindled it into revenge. A furious assault on the walls was successful, and, with a very small loss on the

Its disasters and outrages on the road to Greece.

F 2

* Albert of Aix, p. 186. The instance of casuistry mentioned in the text is not a solitary one. It was an axiom in those days that the church abhorred the shedding of blood. Therefore bishops and archbishops used to go to battle armed with clubs, and made no scruple to knock down an enemy, and to beat and bruise him to death, though they held it unlawful to run him through with a sword. Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 324.

† Archb. of Tyre, p. 643. This statement of the number of Peter's mob is the general one. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 80.

CHAP. II. the side of the invaders, seven thousand of the Hungarians were slain or taken prisoners. The Croises dwelt a few days in the town, and abandoned themselves to every species of grossness and libertinism. Neither public treasures nor private possessions were spared. Virgin modesty was no protection, conjugal virtue no safeguard: and in the midst of their savage excesses they vowed that in such a way as that they would requite Turkish atrocities. Carloman heard of the perfidiousness of the destroyers, and marched a large army towards the southern frontier. On the news of their approach, Peter left Malleville, and endeavoured to cross the Save. The French division placed themselves and their plunder on rafts, but the impetuosity of the stream separated them from their companions, and they were cut to pieces, or forced into the water, by a large body of Turcomans, who attacked them from the Bulgarian side. The Germans and Lorrainers revenged the death of the French, and Peter slew on the altar of justice the few Turcomans who had survived the battle.* The Maroe was now passed with facility, but the Crusaders found a desert in Bulgaria. The duke had quitted Belgrade for the better fortified town of Nissa, and the people had retreated into their forests with their

* Albert of Aix, 188.

their moveables. Seven days' march brought Peter before the ducal residence; but the formidable appearance of the town prevented a repetition of the attacks which he had made at Malleville: a prudent caution, however, against exasperating the enemy, prompted the duke to allow his people to sell them provisions. The next morning Peter recommenced his way. About an hundred Germans, whom the archbishop of Tyre calls the sons of Belial, disputed with a Bulgarian trader, and set fire to some houses. The people in the city were incensed, and rushed upon the rear guard of the Crusaders. Massacre, plunder, and flight were the penalties which the Germans paid for the outrage committed by their countrymen. Peter, on hearing this news, wished to conciliate the Bulgarians: his propositions were mild and courteous; but his companions prevented the benefits of negotiation, by attempting to scale the walls of Nissa. All their efforts were fruitless. The engagement now became general, and ended in the route or destruction of ten thousand of Peter's rabble. Their property by rightful possession or plunder was seized, with their women and monks, and every other incumbrance of the camp. The Hermit abandoned himself to tears and despair, until some of his more enterprising friends recalled his scattered

 followers.

CHAP. II. followers. The next day seven thousand of them were assembled, and he continued his march. By degrees other Crusaders left their hiding places in the woods and mountains, and Peter found himself at the head of nearly thirty thousand people. But they were destitute of arms and money, and therefore could neither demand nor purchase supplies. Intelligence of their disorders flew to Constantinople, and the emperor, satisfied with the chastisement they had received from the duke of Bulgaria, commanded them to hasten to the south.* Their distress continued till they reached Philippopoli; and in that city the pathetic eloquence of Peter excited the compassion of the inhabitants. The journey to Constantinople was marked by no event of moment, and the associates of the Hermit united themselves to Walter, who had been already joined by an undisciplined herd of Italians.† The emperor, seeing their unfitness for war, commanded them to remain in Greece till the arrival of the armies. He supplied them with quarters, money, and provisions; but as soon as they recovered their strength, they repaid his generosity by deeds of flagitiousness on his people. Palaces and churches were plundered to afford them means of intoxication and

* Archb of Tyre, 644—646. † Baldric, 89.

and excess.* Peter and all those in whom enthusiasm had not been quite absorbed in the love of pillage, requested permission to pass into Bithynia. Alexius seized this desire, and assisted them to cross the Bosphorus. For two months they continued tranquil, but at the end of that time they recommenced their excesses with all the virulence and malevolence of concealed but burning hatred. Edifices sacred to religion were pillaged, and no consideration could make the wretches observe the imperial recommendation of peace and good order, until the arrival of the military squadrons of Europe. Peter lost all authority over them, and embracing the occasion of some acts of apparent injustice by the imperial commissioners, he returned to Constantinople for the declared purpose of remonstrating with the emperor. Among the Crusaders particularly distinguished for ferocity were ten thousand Normans or French.† That they destroyed children at the breast, and scattered their quivering limbs in the air, is the charge of the Grecian historian:‡ that their crimes were enormous, is the general confession of the Latin writers. They quitted their com-

F 4 panions

* Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 777 and 778. Ord. Vit. p. 724.

† Baldric, p. 89. Tudebodus, p. 778.

‡ Alexiad. p. 226.

CHAP. II. panions in arms, and carried their ravages even to the walls of Nice, the capital of Bithynia. They took the castle of Xerigord, and slaughtered the Turkish garrison. The Sultan marched fifteen thousand men against them. Reginald divided his soldiers between an ambuscade and the defence of the castle: but his force was inadequate to the accomplishment of both objects; and his troops in the ambuscade were put to the sword. He escaped with difficulty to the castle. The Turks destroyed the water conduits, and then blockaded the fortress, in full knowledge that it would yield to a short bloodless siege. In vain the ecclesiastics remonstrated with their people, that as they had often provoked God by their excesses, they should now gain his favour by their patience. If their repentance were sincere, the same Deity who had formerly opened the rocks of Arabia, would now deliver his chosen people by a miraculous interposition. But animal nature could not be sustained by cold expostulations or presumptuous hopes. After a private agreement with the besiegers, Reginald and some of his soldiers left the castle in the dress and with the manner of men resolute for battle. They were received with open arms by the Turks; they embraced islamism: and their companions in the castle were immediately attacked and slaughtered.

Its destruction in Bithynia.

The main body of Peter's mob was yet fresh and vigorous. The Sultan commanded his flying Tartars to skirmish with the Crusaders, himself disdaining to meet his wretched foes in a general action. After much blood had been shed, he quickened the destruction by stratagem. He circulated a story through the christian camp, that Nice had fallen. The greedy rabble entreated Walter to lead them forward. But he prudently* replied, that he was only the lieutenant of Peter, and could not march without his master's orders. But the clamours of the people could not be disregarded; no discipline nor order were preserved; the military ensigns had no followers: but, like rivers which had overflown their banks, the mob rushed towards the object of plunder. When they arrived on the plain which surrounds the city of Nice, the Turks poured on the disorderly multitude. The number of wounds with which Walter fell attested the vigour of his resistance; most of his associates were slain; the cruel and sensual Turks pressed on to the camp, sacrificed the priests on christian altars, and reserved for the seraglio such of the women as were beautiful. The fierce

* Walter generally conducted himself with discretion. Fuller is wrong in saying that "he had more of the sail of valour than the ballast of judgment."

CHAP. II.

fierce soldiers of Asia gratified their savageness with collecting the bones of the fallen. A lofty hill was made of them, and it remained for many years a dreadful warning to succeeding bands of Crusaders. Three thousand persons were all that survived the Turkish scymitar. They retreated to the gulph of Nicomedia, and secured themselves in the fortress of Civitot. One of the wretched fugitives went to Constantinople, and made Peter acquainted with the dreadful issue of the impatience and rapacity of his men. The Hermit solicited the emperor to spare the miserable remains of the soldiers of Jesus Christ, and as they were no objects of terror, Alexius sent a body of troops, who covered their march to Constantinople.*

Third division.

Godeschal, a German priest, emulated the fame of Peter, and collected a band of fifteen thousand fiery enthusiasts from Lorraine, the east of France and Bavaria. They pursued the usual route, and the prudent Hungarian monarch endeavoured to quicken and facilitate their passage through his dominions. Their savage manners corresponded with that ferocious enthusiasm which had driven them to assume the cross. At Mersburgh,

* Mus. Ital. I. 140—143. Albert of Aix (who is more full than other writers on Peter and his mob), 186—193. Archb. of Tyre, 643—647. Alexiad, 226 and 227.

Mersburgh, the modern Ouar or Moson, they committed horrible outrages, and their annalists have recorded, whether as an instance of the general disposition, or as the height of crime, that, on occasion of a trifling quarrel, they impaled a young Hungarian in the market-place.* All Hungary rose in arms against the violators of hospitality: but the king, dreading the fury of desperation to which hostility might drive the Croises, resolved to accomplish their ruin by stratagem. He therefore with firmness and courtesy told the strangers, that peace and war were at his command. He was disposed to spare the guilty, but in order to purchase his clemency they must surrender their arms; and he assured them that this action of peace and obedience would terminate his anger, and renew his kind inclinations. Simplicity is the companion of vice as well as of virtue, and the people therefore resigned their means of personal defence, and accepted a promise of clemency. They expressed their reliance upon the good faith of the king, and the christian character of his subjects, not choosing to think that their own atrocities deserved the severest punishment, and had cast shame and disgrace upon all professions of virtue. Where they expected pardon they

Its destruction in Hungary.

* Albert, 194.

CHAP. II.

they found retaliation. The Hungarians rushed upon the naked and unarmed multitude, the plains of Belgrade were covered with their bodies, and a few only of Godeschal's people escaped to spread over the north the tale of woe.*

Fourth and last division.

Before Europe glittered with the pomp and splendour of chivalry, another herd of wild and desperate savages scourged and devastated the world. They issued from England, France, Flanders, and Lorraine. Their avowed principle of union was the redemption of the holy sepulchre. History is silent on the subordinate modes and bands of connection, except the horrible superstition of adoring and following a goat and a goose, which they believed to be filled with the divine spirit: and if such were their religion, we cannot wonder at the brutality of their manners. Besides their fanaticism was the height of fury, for these ministers of the devouring flame nearly trebled their precursors. Their zeal was guided by envy and malignity, and they pretended that it was unjust that any foes of God should enjoy temporal prosperity. The Jews enriched the towns on the banks of the Moselle and of the Rhine, and communicated to France and Germany the products of each

Its shocking superstition.

Cruelties on the German Jews.

* Albert, p. 194. Archb. of Tyre, p. 648.

each respective country. The city of Cologne was the first city which was stained with their blood. The sanctity of the archiepiscopal palace at Mayence, the sacred presence of the venerable metropolitan, could not shield seven hundred of the children of Israel from the swords of men, who professed a religion of mercy and love. The bishop of Spires bravely and successfully defended the Jews in his city, but the generosity of the bishops of Treves and Worms was not equally pure and meritorious, if it be true that they compelled the objects of their protection to change their religion. Many firm and noble spirits disdained apostacy. Some of them retired to a chamber of the bishop at Worms, on pretence of deliberating on the renunciation of their faith. Deliberation produced virtue, and by self-slaughter they disappointed the cruelty of their enemies. More appalling spectacles were witnessed at Treves. Mothers plunged the dagger into the breasts of their own children; fathers and sons destroyed each other, and women threw themselves into the Moselle.*

When

* Albert, 195. Archb. of Tyre, 649. Alberic Chron. p. 149. The Chronicles in Bouquet, xii. 218, 222, 411. Both Albert and the Archbishop are indignant at the treatment which the Jews received. After this calamitous event the

CHAP. II.

When the measure of murder and robbery was full, the infernal multitude proceeded on their journey. Two hundred thousand people, of whom only three thousand were horsemen, entered Hungary. They hurried on to the south in their usual career of carnage and rapine; but when they came to Mersbourg, their passage was opposed by an Hungarian army. Their requests to the king's general for provisions and a free passage were denied; but they forced a bridge over the Danube; and, gathering strength from the desperateness of their situation, they succeeded in making some breaches in the wall of the town. The ruin of the Hungarian nation appeared inevitable, and the king with his nobles was prepared to fly to the south. By some strange panic, which the best historians can neither explain nor describe, the besiegers deserted the assault and fled. Their cowardice was as abject as their boldness had been ferocious; and the Hungarians pursued them with such slaughter, that the waters of the Danube were for days red with their blood. But few of the rabble survived. Count Emicho, who had gained damnatory distinction

Their destruction in Hungary.

the emperor took the Jews into his protection as subjects of the imperial domain. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 246.

tinction by his cruelties on the Jews, succeeded in flying into Germany. Some others escaped to the south; and in time joined the regular forces of the feudal princes of Europe.*

* Albert, 195, 196. According to Albert there could have been very few survivors of the two hundred thousand. The Archbishop of Tyre (p. 649, 650) says that the greatest part returned with Emicho to Germany. Albert's account of the mob is very full, and the picture is very dark. He makes the destruction of this goat and goose mob the judgment of heaven on their crimes and impiety. Albert had his account of their cruelties from eye-witnesses; the Archbishop was a much later writer. Fulcher, and his copyist Malmsbury, are the only early writers who describe the conduct of the European mob as virtuous and orderly. But their account of the march of these poor wretches is comprised in a few lines, and does not embrace those details which are contained in the narratives of the other authors whom I have quoted.

CHAP. III.

CHARACTERS OF THE LEADERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—MARCH OF THE ARMIES TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon...... March of the Frisons, Lorrainers, &c. through Hungary into Thrace......Characters of the count of Vermandois, the count of Blois, the count of Flanders, and Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy......March of the French, Flemish, Norman, and English Crusaders through Italy......The count of Vermandois arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius ......War between Godfrey and the Emperor...... Godfrey reaches Constantinople......After many alternatives of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage ......Boldness of a Crusader......Godfrey crosses the Hellespont......Is joined by the count of Flanders ......Characters of Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and Tancred......March of the Italians to Constantinople......Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond......Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty......Character of Raymond, count of Thoulouse......Course of the Provençals into Greece ......Raymond takes a qualified oath of allegiance ......Arrival of the duke of Normandy, the count of Blois, and others, in Asia Minor.

So horrible were the barbarities of the European mob, that we can feel no regret for the disastrous

trous issues of popular fervor. We cannot turn from the folly and crimes of the people to any grandeur of heroism, or any splendour of success. More than a quarter of a million* of wretched fanatics perished in the first great convulsion of enthusiasm, and the Muselman banners still floated over the walls of Jerusalem. While the bones of the Croises were whitening on the plains of Nice, or putrifying in the marshes of Hungary, the feudal princes of Europe were collecting their tenants and retainers, and arraying them for war.† Different scenes are now before us; scenes disfigured, indeed, but not totally characterized by horror and

*	
Walter's mob........	20,000
Peter's	40,000
Godeschal's	15,000
Last division	200,000
	275,000

Almost all these people perished. The Italian mob that joined Walter has not been numbered by any of the original historians of the first crusade.

† Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise,
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
Single or in array of battle rang'd
Both horse and foot, now idly mustering stood.
Paradise Lost, 11. 641.

CHAP. III. and flagitiousness. Courage in various forms, wisdom, prudence, and skill in endless combinations, appear in the characters and conduct of the renowned leaders of the crusade. Their fanaticism was more methodized than that of their savage precursors, and is therefore a more interesting subject of contemplation.

History and character of Godfrey of Bouillon.

The chief who was greatest in respect of personal merit, and inferior to few in political importance, was Godfrey VI. lord of Bouillon, marquis of Anvers, and duke of Brabant, or the Lower Lorraine. The states of Lorraine arose into independence on the ruins of Charlemagne's empire. They were the frequent cause of war between the German rulers and the Carlovingian princes of France; and were finally annexed to the imperial house of Saxony. In the middle of the tenth century, the emperor Otho I. gave them to his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who divided them into the Upper and the Lower Lorraine,* and made a valiant peer, named

* The two duchies of Upper and Lower Lorraine comprise what is generally called the kingdom of Lorraine. The archbishop gave the dukedom of the first division to Gerard, count of Alsace, A. D. 1048. The counts of Alsace and counts of Habsburgh were branches of the same family. After a division which lasted eight centuries, the two ranches were re-united in the year 1745, by the marriage of

named Godfrey, lord of the last division, reserving some feudal honours to himself, under the title of archduke. The Lower Lorraine comprised Brabant, Hainault, Namur, Luxembourg, Liege, and Limberg; and the name of Brabant was often applied to the whole of the archduchy. The father of Godfrey VI. was Eustace II. count of Boulogne, celebrated for his bravery and power among the puissant and courageous lords of Belgium. His mother was Ida, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, duke of the Lower Lorraine. He was apparently destined to act a great part on the theatre of the world, for nature had bounteously bestowed upon him her choicest gifts. His understanding was enriched with such knowledge and learning as his times possessed: and his ready use of the Latin, Teutonic, and (one of their results) the Roman languages, qualified him for the office of mediator among confederated but disputing nations. The gentlest manners were united to the firmest spirit;* the amiableness of virtue to its commanding gravity. He was alike distinguished for

of Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, and Maria Theresa, daughter of the emperor Charles VI.

* How well an old writer has described a true soldier:

Un chevalier, n'en doutez pas,
Doit ferir hault, et parler bas.

CHAP. III. for political courage and for personal bravery. His lofty mind was capable of the grandest enterprises. His deportment was moral; his piety was fervent; and he appeared, perhaps, to be better fitted for a cloister of reformed monks, than for the command of a furious and licentious soldiery. He regretted the stern necessity which drew him from the immediate service of God; but when in arms he was a hero; and his martial zeal in the cause of heaven was always directed by prudence, and tempered by philanthropy.* In the wars between the emperor and the Popes, he took the part of Henry IV.; he received the distinction of bearing the imperial standard; and his own heroical valour changed

* E pien di fè, di zelo, ogni mortale
Gloria, impero, tesor mette in non cale.
Tasso, La Gerus. Liber. I. 8.

In another place Tasso gives us a very high idea of Godfrey, by equalling him to Raymond in the council, and Tancred in the field.

Veramente è costui nato all' impero,
Sì del regnar, del commandar sa l'arti:
E non minor che duce è cavaliero;
Ma del doppio valor tutte ha le parti.
Nè fra turba sì grande uom più guerriero,
O più saggio di lui potrei mostrati.
Sol Raimondo in consiglio, et in battaglia
Sol Rinaldo e Tancredi a lui s'agguaglia.
La Gerus. Liber. III. 59.

changed the tide of victory, and gave the throne to his friend. On the death of his maternal grandfather, and the termination of the rebellion of Conrad, son of the emperor, he was invested with the titles of duke of Lorraine, marquis of Anvers, and lord of Bouillon. Gratitude preserved the mind of Godfrey firm and energetic in its allegiance. In the siege of Rome he broke through the walls, and opened the gates to the assailants. These services were ill requited. Henry dishonoured, in an outrageous manner, his empress Praxeda, who was sister of the duke of Lorraine. Alive to every call of honour, and knowing that marriage does not supersede the claims of consanguinity, he armed himself against the emperor; his valour triumphed, and Henry was put to flight. From the siege of Rome till the report reached him of the intended expedition to Jerusalem, a lingering fever burnt in Godfrey's veins. But the blast of the holy trumpet roused his martial and religious spirit; and he resolved to go to the holy land, if God would restore his health. "Immediately," says Malmsbury, "he shook disease from his limbs, and "rising with expanded breast, as it were, from "years of decrepitude, he shone with reno- "vated youth." He appeased the wrath of the clergy of Verdun by yielding to them his tem-

A.D. 1089.

 poral

CHAP. III. poral rights over their episcopal city;* and in order to furnish his viaticum, he sold to the church of Liege his beautiful lordship and castle of Bouillon.† His brother Baldwin, his relation

* Throughout the crusades, most persons, considering the difficulty of the journey, and the perils of war, performed those acts which men on the point of death observed; such as settling their family affairs, and making restitutions to the church or private persons. Old title deeds abound with these conveyances. The great increase of monasteries, in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, very much proceeded from this cause. The bishop of Chartres prevailed on his lord, previously to his departure from France for the holy land, to renounce for himself and his successors the right which the counts of Chartres enjoyed, of pillaging the houses of the bishop, after his decease, of its goods, chattels, &c. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 616.

† Whether he received seven thousand marks of silver or fifteen hundred, is a point of little moment to us; but some writers have maintained that no such sale was made, and that the church of Liege unjustly possessed themselves of the estate after the death of Godfrey. On the subject of Godfrey's genealogy and character, see an article in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, iii. 96, &c. ii. 760. Malmsbury, p. 448. Archb. of Tyre, 651. Godfrey of Bouillon died childless; a count of Limberg seems to have been the general possessor of his estates till the year 1106, when the emperor Henry V. conferred the duchy of the Lower Lorraine upon Godfrey, count of Louvain, whose male descendants reigned there until the year 1355, under the title of dukes of Brabant. The duchy passed then to the dukes of Burgundy. Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe, tom. i. p. 96.

tion Baldwin du Bourg,* and many other knights high in fame, marched under his standard. The army comprised the Frisons, the Lorrainers, and indeed all the votaries of the sepulchre who dwelt between the Rhine and the Elbe.

His march through Hungary into Thrace.

They commenced their march from the Moselle in the month of August 1096, and proceeded with perfect discipline till they reached the northern frontier of Hungary. Godfrey knew the difficulty of passing through the country which laid before him without permission of the Hungarians; and heaps of unburied corpses around warned him to be cautious of provoking a powerful foe. His ambassadors to Carloman demanded the cause of the fate of their precursors. If they had been slain in the name of justice, the champions of the cross would lament their iniquity: but if they had

 been

* This Baldwin du Bourg was a son of Hugh I. count of Réthel, a town on the Aisne, seven leagues from Rheims, and twelve from Chalons. The grandfather of Baldwin was lord of the town of Setunia, or Stenai, in addition to the usual territory of the counts of Rethel; and hence the distinction of du Bourg to the crusading Baldwin. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 439. ii. 631. The writers in the Gesta Dei per Francos call Baldwin du Bourg the cognatus and the consanguineus of Godfrey; but I have searched in vain for the exact mode of the relationship.

CHAP. III. been put to death as innocent strangers claiming hospitality, then Godfrey of Bouillon was prepared to punish their murderers. The king replied, that those who had followed Peter, Godeschal, and other preceding leaders, had not been disciples of Christ. The rabble of the Hermit, instead of evincing their gratitude, had, on quitting the kingdom, committed direful desolation. The soldiers of Godeschal had been kindly received, but were guilty of murder and rapine. Another repetition of these enormities could not be endured; and the Hungarians had therefore destroyed the next detestable crowd. These just representations were acceptable to the envoys of the pious Godfrey, who were honourably dismissed to their camp, with letters of friendship from the king to the duke, and an invitation to an interview at the fortress of Cyperon, or Poson. Godfrey went towards the place with a train of three hundred cavaliers; but accompanied only by three private friends he met Carloman, and conversed on the peace and reconciliation of the Christians. Among nations, even the most savage, the rights of hospitality are inviolable; and Godfrey and twelve of his associates repaired to the capital, and commanded his escort to return to the main body of the army. After a few days of festivity, it was agreed between the duke and the king, that

that the Crusaders should march from the north to the south of Hungary; that the Hungarians should sell them provisions on equitable terms; and that Baldwin should be the hostage on the part of the Franks.* But the Latin prince was ill disposed to the office, until the duke of Lorraine shamed his selfishness, by declaring that he himself would undertake it. Baldwin and his family were delivered to Carloman; and by the good conduct of the people, under the private admonition and public exhortation of Godfrey, a situation of peril was converted into a post of honourable distinction. A free commerce of money and goods was carried on between the strangers and the natives; and the soldiers of the cross marched through Hungary with military discipline and religious decorum. On the banks of the Save, near Malleville, the hostages were released, and the Crusaders entered the states of Greece.† They halted for a day at Belgrade, then pursued their course through the woods of Bulgaria into Thrace, and reposed themselves at Philippopoli. Godfrey's attention to order was seconded by Alexius, who opened the imperial granaries to his allies. The emperor's liberality preserved the Latins; for

* Albert, 198. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

† Albert, 199. Archb. of Tyre, 652.

CHAP. III.

for the necessities of so large an army could not be provided for from countries which had been devastated by the wars between the Bulgarians and other savage hordes with the Greeks.

Character of the count of Vermandois.

While Godfrey was leading the armies of Lorraine and northern Germany through the Hungarian marshes, Hugh, the great earl, count of Vermandois, and brother of the French king, was calling to his side the armed pilgrims from Flanders and England, and the middle and north of France. His virtues and personal graces were worthy of a royal race. He was a brave and accomplished cavalier; but as he was not deeply imbued with a devotional spirit like that of Godfrey, his consciousness of merit was unrestrained by religious humility, and appeared in a proud and lofty deportment.* The knights of honourable name who marched with the Capetian prince were as numerous as the Grecian warriors at the siege of Troy.† Few chieftains brought so many soldiers to the standard as Stephen, count of Blois and Chatres. He was one of the most potent barons

Count of Blois.

* Robert, 34. Guibert, 485. Alexiad, 227.

† Unius enim, duum, trium, seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut vix totidem coegisse putetor obsidio Trojana. Guibert, 486.

barons of France; and in the exaggeration of flattery, the number of his castles was said to have been equal to the amount of the days of the year. He had experienced the clemency of Philip, his nominal liege lord; in return he aided him in quelling a rebellion, and in marching with his brother to the crusade.* His military skill consisted in the management of cavalry; but he better understood than practised the duties of a general; for he was one of the few champions of the cross whose character was blighted by the suspicion of cowardice. He was, however, celebrated for his sagacity, and his eloquent manner of communicating to others the stores of his cultivated mind, made him fit for the office which he sustained in the holy war, of president of the council of chiefs. Robert, count of Flanders, was not inferior in rank and power to any of his coadjutors: but he was not qualified for lofty enterprises. He was famed for irregular exploits, not systematic operations; and his courage in the field was the mere activity of brutal strength. Robert Curthose,† duke

Count of Flanders.

* L'art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 615.

† Robert the First, grandfather of Robert Curthose, went on a foot pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1035, as an atonement for a long life of personal excesses andpolitical crimes. At Constantinople he joined the count of Anjou. The

CHAP. III.

Duke of Normandy.

duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, embraced the martial and religious cause with a furious and precipitate passion. He mortgaged his duchy to his brother Rufus for ten thousand marks, and attached himself to the army of Hugh. When called upon to speak and act, the duke was eloquent and skilful; but his accomplishments were not sustained by the silent and solid virtues of prudence and good sense; and so viciously easy was his disposition, that he was unfit to rule over a turbulent and half civilised people. He had not the general Norman character of ostentation, but his selfishness wore the more disgraceful garb of voluptuousness. The Norman and English* Crusaders

The duke was taken ill in Asia Minor, and put on a litter, which was carried by four Moors. A Norman, returning from Jerusalem, met the party, and on asking who was in the litter, the duke, recognising the man, raised himself and exclaimed, "tell your countrymen that you saw me carried "into paradise by four devils." Robert made his pilgrimage, but died at Nice on his way home, July 1036. Brompton. 911, 913. W. Gemiticensis, v. 13.

* England (the Pope's pack-horse in that age, which seldom rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert duke of Normandy; as Beauchamp and others, whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements. —Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book i. ch. 13.

Crusaders assembled under his standard, and among the independent lords who accompanied him were Eustace, earl of Boulogne* (a brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine), Stephen, earl of Albemarle, and the celebrated Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earl of Kent.†

The

* Eustace marched with duke Robert, and not with Godfrey. Henry of Huntingdon, p, 374, and Annals of Waverly, in Gale, p. 142. Both Eustace and his father were always attached to the duke of Normandy, and frequently aided him in his altercations with William Rufus and Henry the First.

† Malmsbury, 349, 477. Ordericus. Vit. 664, 724. Mus. Ital. i. 133. The earl of Albemarle distinguished himself at various times during the crusade; but the earl bishop died at Rome before the army left Italy. Dugdale, Baronage, i. 24, 61. According to the authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. p. 842, one of the sons of Malcolm the Third, conqueror of Macbeth, left Scotland in 1096 for the holy land. If such had been the fact, it is most probable that he would have marched with Eustace earl of Boulogne, who married his sister Mary. But I cannot find in the Abridgment of the Scots Chronicle (Edinburgh, 1633) that Malcolm had a son who went to Palestine. Dr Anderson, in his Royal Genealogies, is likewise silent; but he, I observe, has no other authority for the part of his book that relates to this subject, than the already mentioned Abridgment. Most of the article on Scotland, in the work of the Benedictines, it is stated, was taken from the diplomata of James Anderson and Ruddiman: but the circumstance we are inquiring about is not spoken of in that book.

CHAP. III.

Their march through Italy.

The soldiers of Hugh pursued a shorter road than the often-beaten track through Hungary. They crossed the Alps into Italy, with the intention of embarking from some of its harbours, and proceeding by sea to the holy land. They found Pope Urban at Lucca, and their leader received from him the standard of St. Peter.* The whole expedition seemed, by the magnificence of its equipments, to be destined for pleasure rather than war, and it wasted the autumn in the gaiety and dissipation of Italy. Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres, spread their troops for winter quarters among the towns of Bari and Otranto; but no regard for seasons could restrain the impatience of Hugh. Before his departure, he wrote a letter to the Emperor Alexius, in which he desires to be received in a manner becoming his dignity.† He also

* Robert, 35. Fulcher, 384. In the wars which princes waged with schismatics and heretics, the papal standard was carried, and indeed in other wars, where the interference of the Pope was submitted to. By this means his name was respected, and his power extended.

† The exact terms of this letter cannot be known. Anna Comnena reports it as if Hugh had called himself king of kings. The letter was doubtless sufficiently arrogant without this expression, which it was not likely Hugh would use, as he was only the brother of the king of kings. Du Cange, in a note on the Alexiad, has collected several authorities, English

also dispatched to the governor of Durazzo twenty-four knights arrayed in golden armour, requesting, in no very humble terms, that magnificent preparations might be made for the arrival of the standard-bearer of the Pope.*

The politics of Constantinople, ever dependent on circumstances, not on principle, had changed since the days when the proud Grecian empire had first appeared as the suppliant of barbarian Europe. The Seljukian dynasty of Rhoum was falling into decay; the Greeks no longer dreaded the loss of the sacred city, and were accustomed to the disgrace of Tartarian savages ruling over Asia Minor. Alexius had been liberal to Godfrey, for even vice paid an homage of respect to the virtue of the duke of Lorraine.† But when he heard of the greatness of the European armament, and that his old enemy, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, had assumed

English and French, proving (what no Frenchman of the old school ever doubted) that in the thirteenth century the king of France was accounted the greatest king in Christendom; and that the word *rex* was applied to him per excellentiam.

* Alexiad, p. 228.

† Godfrey received the praises of the Princess Anna; but she thought that secular and not religious motives influenced the other princes.

CHAP. III. assumed the cross, his cowardly temper made him suspicious of the fair professions of others, and his mind vacillated between the wish of destroying and the dread of offending his allies. The west had listened to his solicitations; Godfrey's troops had taken no hostile course, and no other forces were yet in the Greek empire. He had not stipulated for any limited number of soldiers, or declared that his dispositions to enmity or friendship would be regulated by the portion of assistance that might be afforded.* It would have been consonant with the grandeur of imperial rank, for Alexius to have answered the arrogance of Hugh by a dignified remonstrance to the princes of Europe. Of itself it was no ground for hostilities. But the emperor commanded his naval power in the Adriatic to prevent the Latin fleet from quitting the Italian shores; to capture those ships which should escape from the blockade, and to detain as prisoners such of the Croises as under any circumstances should arrive on the Grecian coast. The count of Vermandois was the subject of the last

* It was not the fact that Alexius asked for the aid of only 10,000 men. Voltaire and his followers might have found enough of crime in the conduct of the crusaders with the Muselmans, without falsely charging upon the Latins the offence of breaking treaty with the Greeks.

last of these contingences. His appearance was ill calculated to excite either respect or fear. A wintry storm had scattered his vessels; his own bark had been stranded near Durazzo, and instead of entering the town in the stately manner which was conformable with the splendour of his gorgeous precursors, he was led into the presence of the lieutenant of Alexius, as a suppliant for hospitality. He was received with the most honourable salutations, and entertained with magnificence. The governor affected lamentation for the loss of his ships, and courteously bade him hope for a reverse of fortune, and the arrival of prosperous times. During his stay, Hugh felt not his captivity, for as few of his old companions had reached him, he expressed no desire to depart. But he was soon removed to Constantinople, and Alexius, by flattery and presents, so completely won his affections, that he obtained from him an acknowledgment of fidelity.*

Hugh arrives at Constantinople, and swears fealty to Alexius.

* Alexiad, 228, 229. The imperial and royal families of Germany and France might, according to principles of feudal law, have claimed the fealty of most of the leaders of the crusade, and the facility with which the count of Vermandois and others took the oath of allegiance to Alexius, shews how easily the chain of feudal society in urope was broken in its most important links.

CHAP. III.

Godfrey heard with indignation that the emperor considered and treated as a captive the brother of the king of France. He dispatched an embassy, requiring the liberation of the count of Vermandois, and the reasons of his captivity. But Alexius persisted in his violation of the law of nations, and the duke of Lorraine took a just though severe mode of retaliation. He acted as if war had been declared, and permitted his soldiers to ravish the beautiful plains of Thrace. The distress of the provincials was soon reported at the imperial metropolis, and Alexius repented of his perfidy. He liberated two of the companions of Hugh, and sent them to Godfrey, with the news that on his arrival at the Grecian court he should find the count himself, and no longer a prisoner. Military rapine had continued for eight days in the Thracian fields, but Godfrey, on this intelligence, restored the army to its discipline, took the road for Constantinople, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the city two days before Christmas.* Hugh advanced to meet his friend, and scarcely had they exchanged congratulations, when a state messenger requested the duke to visit the palace with his chief officers, and leave his army without

War between Godfrey and Alexius.

Godfrey reaches Constantinople.

* Archb. of Tyre, 654. Baldric, 91.

out the walls. But at that moment, some Frenchmen came secretly to the camp, and warned their comrades of the insidiousness of the emperor. Godfrey and his counsel returned therefore a refusal to the royal solicitation; and the violent and imprudent Alexius prohibited his subjects from traffic with the Crusaders. This act of hostility was repelled in the same manner as the imprisonment of Hugh had been resented. On the recommendation of Baldwin and other chiefs, the soldiers were permitted to lay waste the vicinity of the city; and they soon collected provisions for the festival of the Nativity.* While the religious ceremonies were in a course of celebration, the soldiers abstained from rapine, and on their conclusion, the emperor recalled his impolitic edict. But he only recalled it for the purpose of pursuing his object by other means. The season of the year was at variance with living in tents, and Alexius recommended to Godfrey that the army should cross the Bosphorus, and occupy as winter quarters the palaces and country summer-houses of the Byzantine nobility.† By this act of seeming friendship he conciliated the Croises, and relieved

 his

* Albert, 200, 1.

† Archb. of Tyre, 654.

CHAP. III.

his people from the inconveniences of an immediate intercourse with them. He again entreated the duke of Lorraine to enter Constantinople: but blandishments were without effect; and Godfrey simply replied, that "he "would willingly shew his respect for the emperor by appearing at his palace, but that he "was alarmed by tales which he had heard regarding his majesty;—and he did not know "whether they sprung from envy and hatred." General expressions of regard were returned to these remarks; but Godfrey was warned by his friends against Grecian artifice. Alexius resorted to a repetition of his former measures for procuring the unconditional submission of the army. The consequences of the prohibition of traffic were, as usual, disastrous to the Greeks. Insidiousness and the attempt at starvation having failed, Alexius resorted to arms. One morning in the middle of January the Turcoples entered the camp of the Latins; and their arrows fell with direful effect. On this occasion, the first one where the talents of a great general were necessary, the mind of the duke of Lorraine was present and active. He knew that if the Greeks could possess themselves of the bridge of the Blachernæ, his soldiers would be shut in between the Black Sea, the

A.D. 1097, January.

the Bosphorus, and the Barbyses, and totally at their mercy. By his command, therefore, Baldwin with the cavalry advanced to the bridge. Both on his road and on his arrival at his post, he made the squadrons of Alexius tremble and retreat. When his purpose was apparent, all the imperial troops pressed from every quarter to the bridge; and the loss of lives was prodigious before the passage of the Latin infantry was secured.* Godfrey attacked in his turn. Though he had no machines wherewith he could batter the walls of Constantinople, yet the impetuous valour of his soldiers was dreadfully destructive. The Greeks from the towers shot arrows and hurled darts; the coats of mail protected the Latin cavaliers; yet many of the unbarbed horses were killed. But a shaft from the bow of Nicephorus, the Grecian general, entered a vulnerable place of an European knight, who had been riding round the walls, insulting the Greeks for cowardice.† At this moment some battalions of heavily armed soldiers poured from the city. Their force and weight would

H 3 have

* Albert, 201, 202.

† Nicephorus was the husband of the princess Anna; and she praises him in truly classical terms. Alexiad, 233, 234.

CHAP. III. have been irresistible; but the Franks avoided their attacks; and, therefore, the Greeks consumed their strength in vain endeavours to bring their enemies to action. Night and darkness parted the Croises and their inhospitable entertainers. The soldiers of Godfrey, before their passage of the bridge, had set fire to their quarters; and after the engagement, so fierce and destructive was their retaliation on their insidious foes, that Alexius was compelled, by the distresses of his people, to lay aside all thoughts of war. Still, however, clinging to the hope of gaining the feudal dependence, rather than the liberal friendship of the Latins, he desired the mediation of one of those who already acknowledged his authority. The brother of the French king did not disdain to become the advocate of the faithless Greek. But Godfrey severely reproached the man who could leave France with a numerous army richly equipped, and cast himself at the feet of a foreign prince. "And do you," he continued, "not only boast of your disgrace, but, "forgetting my dignity, do you ask me to "imitate your baseness?" But Hugh replied, that the oath of fidelity was an unavoidable consequence of their expedition: that the friendship of Alexius was essential to the well-being

being of the enterprise; for that without his aid, the army would perish from hunger.* The representations of the count of Vermandois not only calmed the anger, but changed the opinion of the duke of Lorraine. He saw that a state of hostility with the emperor would eventually be more destructive to him than to the Greeks: that the people round Constantinople would be ruined; their ruin would be followed by that of the army; and the imperial treasures would be more easily gained by friendship than by war. Godfrey therefore resolved to make a sacred promise of fealty; and it was agreed that, on his entrance into the city, John, a son of the emperor, should be given as a hostage to the French. Before these resolves were acted upon, messengers from the prince of Tarentum reached the camp of the Latins. The Italian developed the perfidy of the emperor; and solicited his insulted companions to wait his arrival, when he would cooperate with them in taking vengeance on imperial duplicity. But nothing could break Godfrey's singleness of purpose. With consent of the other chiefs he answered the messengers of Bohemond, that he knew well the

After many alternations of peace and war, Godfrey, &c. do homage.

 hatred

* Alexiad, 235.

CHAP. III. hatred which the Greeks bore against the Latins; but piety forbad him to turn his arms against a Christian people.*

The interviews between the messengers of Bohemond and Godfrey were reported to Alexius; and the emperor anxiously hastened the negociation. His son was sent into the Latin camp as a hostage, and Godfrey with his friends entered Constantinople. They were dressed with all the magnificence of warriors of the age.† The whole splendour of the Byzantine court was arrayed, in order to overawe the strangers. They were received in the imperial palace with dignity, not with respect; as slaves, not as equals. Their salutations were met by Alexius with silence and unrelaxed features. Godfrey bent the knee before the throne, and kissed the knees or the feet of the emperor. Alexius then adopted him as his son; clothed him with imperial robes, and declared that he put the empire under the protection of his arms, with

* Archb. of Tyre, 656, 657.

† The coat of arms, or mantle over the armour, was the splendid part of a warrior's dress. It was made of cloths of gold or silver, of rich skins, furs of ermine, sables, &c. Albert mentions Godfrey and his party as being clothed with vests made of ermine, vair, and other skins, adorned with gold, p. 203, and see the first dissertation of Du Cange on Joinville.

with the hope that he would finally deliver it from the multitude of barbarians who infested it. The duke of Lorraine with joined hands not only recognized the adoption, but, like the count of Vermandois, swore fidelity to the emperor. He promised to deliver to him such Grecian places as he should recapture from the Turks, and to do homage for any other acquisitions. The oath was repeated by the other suppliant Franks; and Alexius promised in return to aid the cause with the imperial troops, and his stores of arms and provisions. He would join his force to that of the Latins, and even conduct them in person.

Boldness of a Crusader.

Robert of Paris, one of the companions of Godfrey, disgusted at the hauteur of Alexius, quitted his place, and fiercely seated himself on the throne. Alexius, says his daughter, knew well the pride of the Latins, and dissembled his rage. Baldwin relieved the king from his embarrassment, and endeavoured to remove the bold intruder. "After you have professed "yourself," said he, "a servant of the em- "peror, do you dare to place yourself on the "same seat? It is contrary to decorum and "good manners; and if nothing else could "bind you, you should at least respect the "customs of the country in which you are "living." The Frenchman felt not the re-

proof,

CHAP. III. proof, but observed with composure, "a simple rustic is the only one who dares to sit in the presence of him, before whom all are suppliant or standing." The royal interpreter explained to the emperor the meaning of the barbarian. The honest dignity of the stranger palsied imperial pride; and Alexius, unable to reply to this presumption, could only ask him who he was, and whence he came. "I am a Frenchman and nobly born," he replied; "and this too I know, there is a spot near my church, where people assemble who wish to signalize their skill in arms: and where, until an enemy appears, they pray to God. I have repeatedly waited there, and no person has yet dared to accept my challenge." The remark of the emperor was bitterly ironical. "The times are past," said he, "for your search of an enemy in vain. When you meet the Turks, place not yourself in the van of the army, but go into the centre; you will there be safe from the darts of the foe."*

In consequence of the acknowledgment of this

* Alexiad, 237, 238. This brave man was truly French; i. e. of the Isle of France; he lost the benefit of the lesson, for he was slain at the battle of Doryleum. Du Cange, note, p. 85.

this feudal relation, peace was restored between the Latins and the Greeks. On one side strictness of discipline was commanded; and on the other an imperial rescript permitted commercial and social intercourse between the different nations. The lord of Greece, too, gained the affections of the chief officers among the Franks by profuse and ostentatious presents; and once in every week he sent to Godfrey as much gold as two men could carry on their shoulders, and ten measures of copper coin.* All the vigilance of the duke of Lorraine could not preserve the inhabitants of Constantinople from military lawlessness. The spring of holy action was relaxed, and idleness fostered vice. The opinion of Alexius that the army could be better supported on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus than in the city, could neither be assented to nor denied by Godfrey; and he had no reasons to oppose to the imperial wish. Indeed, his judgment might second it; for he knew that the remainder of the military force of Europe would soon arrive; and that the union of so many myriads of Latins in Constantinople would produce disorder. He therefore passed the

March 1097. Godfrey crosses the Hellespont.

* Alexiad, 235, 236. Albert, 203. Archb. of Tyre, 657.

CHAP. III. the Hellespont, and his troops encamped round Chalcedon.*

Joined by the count of Flanders.

Before the departure of Godfrey from Constantinople, he had been joined by Robert of Flanders, and many of the Belgic Crusaders. Neither the affectionate solicitations of his sister the duchess of Apulia, nor the repulsive turbulence of the season, had restrained his impatience. But the count of Vermandois had occupied most of the Apulian vessels; and the Flemish lord had not been able to sail before he heard of his catastrophe at Durazzo. The caution of Robert to avoid the Grecian fleet was not successful; and in the engagement which ensued, he was compelled to yield to the force of superior numbers. The Latins were honourably guarded to Constantinople, where they followed the example of the lords of Lorraine and France, by becoming the *men* of Alexius.†

The

* William of Tyre, and the rest, *ubi supra.* The early historians of the Crusades attribute this movement to the fear which Alexius entertained of the union of troops in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. But it should be remembered that the distance between that city and Chalcedon was so short, that the Latins could form a junction whenever they pleased.

† The authors of L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii. p. 7, are wrong in stating that Robert of Flanders did not take the

CHAP. III.

Characters of the princes of Tarentum and Tancred.

The Crusaders next in point of time were commanded by Bohemond and his relation Tancred.* The enemy of the Greeks had become, both by his brother's negligence and permission, a powerful lord in Italy. From his father's

the oath of fealty. See Albert, p. 204, and the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 660. The princess Anna mistook the count of Flanders for the count of Tholouse. She has also got a story of a count Rodolph and fifteen thousand soldiers that were checked by the Greeks in their march into Asia Minor. The general of Alexius proposed to transport them by sea to the holy land. She adds, "such is the story of count "Rodolph." It cannot be identified with any account of the Latin writers, and is most probably altogether fabulous. The only part of the tale worth noting, is the fear which she expresses of the danger to Alexius arising from a junction of Rodolph with the troops of Godfrey.

* The Italian reader will allow me to enter into the family history of one of the heroes of Tasso. I once thought that the relationship between Bohemond and Tancred was correctly stated by Ordericus Vitalis. Bohemond was the son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. Tancred was the son of marquis Odo the Good. Matilda, a sister of Bohemond, married William de Grantmenil, a Norman lord, whose sister married the father of Tancred. Ord. Vit. p. 271, 677, 692, 717, 724, 757. Albert of Aix (p. 204) says, that Tancred was the son of a sister of Bohemond; and Guibert (p. 496) calls him the nephew of Bohemond. But the authority of Ralph of Caen, Tancred's biographer, is paramount. He says (c. i.) that the father of Tancred was marquis Odo, and that his mother was Emma, sister of Robert Guiscard. Hoveden (p. 710) erroneously makes Tancred the

CHAP. III. father's creation he was prince of Tarentum.* His qualities were those which belong to a piratical people. He was rapacious rather than ambitious: with him craft was wisdom; and, incapable of a grand and dignified course of action, he pursued, and generally with success, the intricate wiles of policy, and the labyrinths of ambuscade and finesse. He knew not the dignity of virtue, and could at pleasure assume every character. He had neither religion nor probity; yet he was, in the eyes of the credulous, one of the most devoted and disinterested soldiers of Christ. The character of Tancred shines with a pure and brilliant lustre. His ambition was rendered virtue by a generous spirit; by a love of martial achievements, and detestation of stratagem. Like his mother's countrymen, he was bold and enterprising; but he had not the Norman vices of treachery and dissimulation.

the son of Robert Guiscard himself; and with equal ignorance, Knolles (Hist. of the Turks, p. 19) calls him the son of Roger, the brother of Bohemond. I may observe in this place, that Knolles' book, which Johnson has so strangely overrated, is at frequent and important variance with the original historians. Such parts of it as relate to the Crusades appear to be a compilation from some well meaning, though injudicious writers, who, observing that the crimes of Christians impeded the progress of Christianity, have softened and extenuated the conduct of the Crusaders.

* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. iii, p. 808.

tion. Modesty softened his high-mindedness; and he would have been courteous and humane to all mankind, if the superstition of his age had not taught him that the Saracens were the enemies of God, and that the Christians were the ministers of heavenly wrath.*

In the sojourn which the count of Vermandois made in southern Italy, the spirit of crusading spread among the Italians. Bohemond was occupied in quelling a rebellion at Amalfi. The fanaticism of the French was soon communicated to his soldiery, and the friend of Urban smiled at the success of his counsels. The holy theme was adopted by the marauder, his specious eloquence produced the same effects as those which the sincerity of other preachers had occasioned,

* Even the princess Anna, generally sparing of commendation of the Latins, praised the martial and intellectual qualities of Tancred. Alexiad, 277. Tasso, who so well knew the way to dress truth with the ornaments of fiction, beautifully describes the young Italian:—

Vien poi Tancredi; e non è alcun fra tanti
(Tranne Rinaldo) o feritor maggiore,
O più bel di maniere e di sembianti,
O più eccelso ed entrepido di core.
S' alcun' ombra di colpa i suoi gran vanti
Rende men chiari, è sol follia d' amore:
Nato fra l' arme amor di breve vista,
Che si nutre d' affanni, e forza acquista.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i, 45.

CHAP. III.

sioned, and the war-shout of the council of Clermont resounded through the lines. The soldiers bent their bows, couched their lances, and uttered a loud but vain cry of defiance of the Turks. While their enthusiasm was at its height, and their entreaties were urgent for a march to the holy land, Bohemond declared his willingness to accompany them in so august an undertaking, and tearing his magnificent robe into pieces in the form of crosses, he distributed the fragments among his followers. Amalfi was forgotten in Jerusalem; fanaticism swept away all considerations of politics, and in the grand effort for the redemption of the sepulchre, Italy might hope to benefit from the absence of her Norman scourges.*

March of the Italians to Constantinople.

The Prince of Tarentum increased by every means the religious fervour, and he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand horsemen, and an infinite number of foot soldiers and foot attendants. Many distinguished Normans and Italians joined his standard, and while the command was participated by his cousin Tancred,† his relations the princes of Salernum had

* Tudebodus, 779. Guibert, 485, 486. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. x. c. 7.

† Tancred was in Bohemond's army, quasi dux sub rege, et secundus ab eo militavit.

CHAP. III.

November, 1096.

had an important place in the council. They sailed from the shores of Apulia about the end of November, soon after Hugh and Robert, and landed near Durazzo. They marched through Epirus, and the soldiers of the Greek emperor stationed in the provinces made Bohemond solicitous to preserve discipline. He exhorted his people to just dealings, moderation, and good-will towards the people, to whom in truth they came to render assistance. But as they advanced, their money became exhausted, and they plundered when they could not purchase. The Greeks were schismatics, but they were the allies of the Italians, and the miserable superstition of the day was at variance with moral principle, whether plunder was lawful. In Pelagonia, however, there was a castle full of heretics, to whom the Crusaders were not attached by any ties of political union. The soldiers of Bohemond pillaged and set fire to it, and then continued their religious journey with consciences void of offence.* Their

 march

* Robert, 36. Tudebodus, 779. Mus. Ital. i, 145. Baldric, 92. Guibert, 488. Archb. of Tyre, 658, &c. This last writer had pity on the poor Jews in Cologne, but he drops not a tear of sorrow for the Pelagonian heretics. In regione uberrima cui nomen est Pelagonia, castrametati sunt. Ubi audientes quod in vicino erat municipium solis hæreticis habitatoribus refertum, illuc sub omni celeritate contendunt,

CHAP. III. march was watched by the imperial troops, and their passage of the Vardar would have been fatal to many of the army, if Tancred had not gallantly repulsed the enemy. Bohemond severely reproached the prisoners, for having dared to attack the soldiers of the cross. They replied, that, "the orders of the emperor were "of the highest obligation upon them, and "they would commit an offence against God "in violating his commands. The armies of "the Crusaders were dreaded by their master "like the thunders of heaven, for he knew that "ambition, and not religion, was their mo-"tive; that they preferred Constantinople to "Jerusalem. If Bohemond and his followers "were really servants of God, they would "imitate his attribute of pity."* The crafty Italian gave them freedom, and when his less prudent friends expressed their surprise, he reminded them of the impolicy of provoking the emperor while they were in his territories. "The passions ought to be curbed till they "can be exerted with effect. If possible, the "favour of Alexius must be obtained, or at all

"events,

contendunt, et castrum violenter occupantes, succensis ædificiis, oppidanus quoque partim gladio, partim consumptis incendio, prædam universam, et opima inde retulerunt spolia. Willermi, Tyrensis Archiep. lib. ii, c. 13.

* Robert, 37.

"events, our wrongs should be dissimulated "till a proper season."* Bohemond sent messengers to Constantinople, with remonstrances against the injustice of the Greeks. Alexius disavowed the actions of his soldiers, and though he inwardly feared and detested Bohemond, he expressed the most lively joy at his approach, and promised him more honours and treasures than those which he had conferred on the other Latin princes. Without some appearance of confidence hostilities would have been renewed, and therefore Bohemond left the army under Tancred at Rossa, and went with a band of cavaliers to the imperial city. He was met by the duke of Lorraine, whom Alexius had solicited to entreat the prince of Tarentum to take the oath of fealty. The two heroes embraced, conversed upon the holy undertaking, and religion appeared to be the sole motive of Bohemond.

Means of Alexius to gain the homage of Bohemond.

The meeting between the emperor and the prince was a finished piece of hypocrisy. The reciprocation of courtesy was not apparently embittered by painful recollections; but as no mention of past events might have given rise to suspicion, Alexius recalled the battles of Durazzo and Larissa, and, commending the valour of the

I 2 prince

* Baldric, 92.

CHAP. III. prince of Tarentum, expressed his joy that amicable dispositions had succeeded those scenes of war. Bohemond, in his turn, confessed the injustice of his former hostility, and avowed that he was, and ever would continue, friendly to so august an emperor. Alexius entertained him in the royal residence, and then removed him to one of still greater magnificence. Judging from his own breast of the impossibility of healing the wounds of hatred, Bohemond continued watchful of the court, and when a splendid banquet was placed before him, he passed the viands untouched to his companions at the table. The next morning he concealed not his astonishment that their health was uninjured, for he thought that the emperor could not let lose so favourable an occasion of attempting to poison an ancient enemy. Just considerations of policy, or the necessity of circumstances, had induced Godfrey and Hugh to take the oath of fealty. Neither national honour nor religion swayed the mind of Bohemond, but he could coolly view every transaction with reference to its effects upon his own selfish interest. His ambition and avarice were well known to Alexius, and these passions were to be satisfied as the purchase for the obligation of allegiance. The emperor promised him, therefore, the lordship over districts between Constantinople and Antioch,

Antioch, fifteen days' march in length, and eight in breadth. The imperial officers displayed to him the most magnificent chambers of the palace; his cupidity was roused at the sight of the never-ending piles of money and jewels, and he could not avoid exclaiming, that, if he were master of those riches, they would lead him to the conquest of cities and kingdoms. "They "are thine," cried the servant of the emperor, "his majesty gives to you all that you have "seen to-day." Soothed by flattery, and blinded by avarice, Bohemond allowed the treasures to be conveyed to his chambers; and though he dropped some expressions indicative of his penetration into the purposes of Alexius, yet his favourite passion finally overcame his sense of dignity.* Revelling in imperial pomp, he aspired to the empire itself, in the office of great domestic of the east, or commander of the Grecian soldiers in Asia. Alexius dissembled his pride, which was wounded deeply at the audacious pride of a foreigner, and resorted to the common political artifice of the opposition of circumstances to the gratification of a desire. "As soon, however," he continued, "as your "military abilities shall receive the applause of "the Greeks, the highest dignity of the empire

 "shall

* Guibert, 491. Archb. of Tyre, 659. Baldric, 92. Alexiad, 238, 240.

CHAP. III.

"shall be yours. I shall then appear to be "acting in harmony with the general confession "of your merit, and not indulging my own pri-"vate partiality and friendship."* He wore the semblance of esteem for Bohemond, though the conduct of his martial compeer Tancred justly excited surprise. The army of Italians had been led by that gallant general from Rosa to Constantinople, and when the alternative was plunder or starvation, he permitted his wretched followers to live upon the miserable and heretical provincials. Arrived at the Bosphorus, he and one of the princes of Salernum disguised themselves in the garb of common soldiers, and crossed the strait almost unnoticed. By this measure Tancred escaped the disgrace of acknowledging a foreign prince to be his liege lord. The noble qualities of the young cavalier were unknown to Alexius, who attributed this preservation of independence not to a generous loftiness of spirit, but to hostile intentions.†

Tancred passes into Asia without swearing fealty.

The next array of mighty men at arms that joined the assembled troops of Godfrey, Hugh, Tancred, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, was commanded by Raymond, duke of Narbonne, and count of Provence, Tholouse, and Rovergue.

Character of Raymond count of Tholouse.

* Alexiad, 241.

† Baldric, 94. Albert, 204. Rad. Cad. 289, 290. The biographer of Tancred says, that Alexius made Bohemond swear for his relative.

Rovergue.* His coldness of temper, and dignity of manner, gave to vulgar minds ideas of wisdom and greatness: but he was selfish and avaricious; his pride made him susceptible and retentive of injuries, though it generally restrained him from immoral ways of revenge. Lord of most of the south of France, he yet sighed for kingdoms in the east, and was inexorable in his hatred of the Mussulmans, for his proud soul was deeply stained with the intolerant spirit of the day, and he had often felt the power of his neighbours, the Spanish Saracens. The holy cause was embraced by William, the fifth lord of Montpellier, Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, and a numerous troop of knights and barons of southern France and northern Spain. The count of Orange descended from his beautiful seat near Avignon, and joined his banner to that of the count of Tholouse. The list of ecclesiastics presented the important names of the archbishop of Toledo,

 and

* The count of St. Ægidius, corrupted by the French into St. Giles, and by Anna Comnena into Sangeles, was his earliest title. St. Ægidius was a part of Nismes. He was also called count of Tholouse and Rovergue, and duke of Narbonne. The title of count of Provence or Arles has likewise been given to Raymond. The history of the means by which he became so great a prince is very dark and confused. Du Cange on the Alexiad, p. 82. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii, 202, 289, 294, 435.

CHAP. III. and the bishops of Puy and Orange.* Though more than three centuries had elapsed since the rise of Gascony from the Saracenian yoke, yet the Moslem cruelties were fresh in the minds of the French, and as much from motives of revenge as of religion, the people from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Var, the eastern boundary of Provençe, assumed the cross. Their route was different from that of the other Crusaders, for they passed through Lombardy into Dalmatia. Forty days were occupied in the march from the Forum Julii to the confines of Epirus; and those were days of fatigue and privation. Ignorant of the regular passes over the mountains, the pilgrims followed their own erring conjectures, and were almost lost in the marshes through their foggy atmosphere and continual

Course of the Provençals into Greece.

* Archb. of Tyre, 660. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii, 259, 322, 400.

Poi duo pastor di popoli spiegaro
Le squadre lor, Guglielmo ed Ademaro.
* * * * * *
L' uno e l' altro di lor, che ne' divini
Ufici già trattò pio ministero,
Sotto l' elmo primendo i lunghi crini,
Esercita dell' arme or l' uso fero:
Della città d' Orange, e dai confini
Quattrocento guerrier scelse il primiero.
Ma guida quei di Poggio in guerra l' altro,
Numero egual, nè men nell arme scaltro.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 38, 39.

continual darkness.* In those parts of the country, where man had but little improved the bounties of nature, scanty provision only could be expected for one hundred thousand soldiers. Such swarms alarmed the peasantry, who retired into the mountains, and then having placed their flocks and herds in safety, made irregular but dreadful attacks upon their invaders. The skill of the count of Tholouse was severely tried in saving the women and priests, and other attendants of the camp. As objects of terror to the enemy, he maimed and disfigured his prisoners; and this exercise of cruelty was seasonable and effective. When they arrived at Scodra, the residence of the king of Dalmatia, the royal name and attentions procured for them provisions and tranquillity till their entrance into the Grecian states.† They pursued their course to Constantinople with the protection of the imperial officers. On every station the governors of the provinces received them with respect, and the letters of Alexius breathed nothing but the language of peace and affection. Yet in every day's march many of the army were slain. Parties of Grecian troops harassed them on all sides, and on one occasion the

* ——— Tenebræ continuæ, pene palpabiles.
Archb. of Tyre, 660.

† Archb. of Tyre, 661.

CHAP. III. the bishop of Puy would have fallen a sacrifice to their rapacity, had it not been for the sudden interposition of some of Raymond's soldiers. At Rossa they inflicted signal vengeance on the Greeks;* they satiated themselves with plunder, and then advanced to Rhodosto, where a deputation from Alexius pressed the count to hasten to Constantinople. Godfrey and the other chiefs joined in this solicitation, and therefore Raymond left the command to Adhemar, and returned with the legates.†

The count of Tholouse boldly and frankly declined to become a feudal dependant on the Grecian empire. He avowed that he had not quitted his native country in order to acknowledge any new master, or to fight for any one but his lord and Saviour. If, however, his majesty would march to Jerusalem, he would willingly place himself and his forces under his command.‡ Alexius had good reason to dread so proud and formidable a chieftain, and therefore gave secret orders to his lieutenants to destroy the army. In the silence and darkness of the night, when the Crusaders were reposing in confidence of promised friendship, the Greeks rushed into their camp. The carnage was dreadful,

* It is remarkable, that when the Crusaders assaulted Rossa, their warcry was "Tholouse," and not Dieux el volt.

† Raimond, 140. ‡ Raimond, 141.

dreadful, till rage succeeded panic, and the ranks of the Provençals were formed. The tide of conquest was changed; the imperial soldiers were completely repulsed, and their stores were plundered. But as the Croises continued their march, disaffection appeared. Victories had reduced their numbers; they were attenuated by fatigue; and, in their distress, they began to question the prudence of the enterprise. The contagion of cowardice spread to the highest lords; and, but for the animating counsels of the bishops and clergy, the army would have been dissolved, and the dark and malignant politics of Alexius would have succeeded.* In the fury of his indignation at the conduct of the imperial officers, the revenge of Raymond could alone be satisfied by making war upon the Greeks.† But the duke of Lorraine and other chiefs shewed the imprudence of attacking the Christians while the Turkish power was unbroken. Bohemond too professed himself to be the friend of Alexius, and threatened Raymond with destruction,

* Archb. of Tyre, 661, 662.

† The bishop of Puy had nothing to do with the matter: and yet Voltaire coolly says, "L'évêque de Puy voulait "absolument qu'on commençât les entreprises contre les "infidèles par le siège de la ville où residoit le premier "prince des chrétiens." Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, ch. 54.

CHAP. III.

Takes a qualified oath of fealty.

tion, if he longer persisted in his enmity.* But neither threats nor advice could make the haughty Provençal kneel and perform homage; and he only swore that he would do nothing against the honour and life of the emperor.† Alexius, wishing some counterpoise to Bohemond, and admiring the pride and power of the count of Tholouse, received Raymond to his confidence, and avowed his fears of the prince of Tarentum. The censure of the Italian was grateful to the ears of his ambitious compeer; and Raymond did not relieve the fears of his imperial friend, by assuring him that perjury and craft were the hereditary vices of Bohemond; and that therefore no trust was to be placed in his vows.‡

The soldiers of Provençe reached Constantinople, and crossed the straits into Asia: and with Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, took the road to Nice.§ Peter the Hermit, and

* Raimond, 141. Tudebodus, 781.

† Raimond and Tudebodus, ubi sup. Rob. 38. Ord. Vit. 728. Guibert, 490. Some historians incorrectly say that the count of Tholouse took the oath of allegiance in its fullest extent. The princess Anne is loud in her praises of the moral and intellectual graces of the count; and, in her hyperbolical language, he shone among the Latins as the sun shines amongst the stars.

‡ Alexiad, 241.

§ The Provençals, however, soon allowed the other Crusaders

and the remnants of his miserable swarms of savages, joined them, and received a share of the camp provisions. The hosts of Christendom were soon afterwards strengthened by the more important junction of the duke of Normandy, the count of Chartres, the earl of Boulogne, and their squadrons, who, in their journey from Italy to Asia Minor, had suffered equal distresses with their precursors; and who, on their arrival at Constantinople, had made the usual sacrifice to imperial pride and suspicion*.

Arrival of Curthose and others.

saders to pass them, for Raymond remained for some time at Constantinople with Alexius.

* Robert, 39. Albert, 204. Gesta, 562. Archb. of Tyre, 664. I shall transcribe the remarks of the chaplain of the count of Chartres on the magnificence of Constantinople, as expressive of the admiration and astonishment which all the western barbarians felt. "O quanta civitas "nobilis et decora! quot monasteria, quotque palatia sunt "in ea, opere miro fabrefacta! quot etiam in plateis vel in "vicis opera, ad spectandum mirabilia. Tædium est quidem "magnum recitare quanta sit ibi opulentia bonorum om- "nium, auri et argenti, palliorum multiformium, sanc- "torumque reliquiarum." Fulcher, 386. The count of Chatres was imposed upon by Grecian artifice, and believed that Alexius preferred him to all the other Crusaders. The emperor had skill enough to make every man with whom he conversed think himself the greatest favourite. His majesty expressed a wish that one of the sons of Stephen might be educated at the Byzantine court, and said a thousand other fine things, which Stephen reported to his wife as holy truths. See his epistle in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. vol. i. p. 237

CHAP. IV.

THE MARCH OF THE CRUSADERS THROUGH ASIA MINOR.

Review of the Latin troops before Nice......Siege and capture of Nice......Treachery of Alexius...... Manners of the Christian Camp......Interview between Alexius and the Chiefs......Commencement of the march through Asia Minor......Battle of Dorylæum......Victory of the Christians......Distressing march through Phrygia......Expedition of Tancred and Baldwin into Cilicia......Injustice of Baldwin ......War between Baldwin and Tancred......Distresses of the main Army in its passage through Lycaonia......Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa ......Arrival of the Latins before Antioch.

May 1097. Review of the Crusades, &c. before Nice.

THE holy legions overspread the plains of Nice,* and if early writers can be credited, seven hundred thousand was the number of soldiers and of pilgrims.† It is impossible to describe

* There the wild Crusaders form,
There assembled Europe stands,
Heav'n they deem awakes the storm,
Hell the paynims' blood demands.
Carlyle's Poems, p. 84.

† This is the number as fixed by the Archbishop of Tyre, p. 664. Fulcher (p. 387) says, there were 600,000 people fit

describe with perfect precision the nature of the military array; but we can discern that there were one hundred thousand horsemen clad in mail.* Agreeably to the customs of chivalry, such of these warriors as were knights were attended by their squires,† who carried their lances, their golden and ornamented shields,‡ and led the fiery steeds § on which the cavaliers rode during the battle. Nor was the equipment complete, unless each equestrian soldier was accompanied and supported by ‖ some men at arms,

fit for war, and a great number of priests, women, and children. Guibert, p. 491, mentions 100,000 equites loricati. These words must mean, in the instance before us, the general force of the crusading cavalry: and we are prevented from adding to it the men at arms, because the archbishop of Tyre in another place (p. 693) says, that the horses with which the Crusaders commenced the siege of Antioch numbered only 70,000. The reader observes that the numerical statements of Fulcher and the archbishop far exceed the result of the various forces described in the last chapter.

* For remarks on the armour of the knights, see note E, Appendix.

† The duties of the squire are described in note F, Appendix.

‡ Albert, p. 212, 241. Thus the soldiers of the lower empire were distinguished by the digmata or devices of their companies, and by their own names expressed on their shields. Vegetius de re militari, lib. ii, c. 18.

§ See Appendix, note G.

‖ The number of men at arms and archers, which constituted the complete equipment of a lance, varied in different times

CHAP. IV. arms and infantry, who bore the standard,* and were accoutred lighter than their chief.† The offensive weapons of the cavalry were iron maces, lances, and swords. The bow ‡ was the principal weapon of the foot soldiers, who, agreeably to the tactics of the day, formed the first line of the army, and discharged flights of shafts and quarrels until the heavily armed troops engaged.

The formidable force of the Crusaders was not broken by petty conflicts; but its first efforts were urged against the very capital of the Seljukian kingdom of Rhoum. Nice was situated on a fertile plain; and owed its strength more to art than to nature. It was defended by

times and countries. It was seldom less than three, or perhaps more than six.

* On the subjeet of the standards, banners, &c. of the Crusaders, See Appendix, note H.

† There were also many soldiers in the first Crusade who were not knights, or their attendants, and yet who fought on horseback. Fulcher, lib. ii. chap. 31.

‡ The cross bow, as well as the long bow, was in use. The former was of immemorial antiquity among the Latins, and was introduced by them into Greece. It was not much used during the Crusades, for the spirit of chivalry opposed a weapon which in the exercise required no skill: it was held in the same contempt as poisoned arrows were; and both were condemned by the 29th canon of the second Lateran council, A. D. 1139. See Du Cange's note on the Alexiad, p. 85

CHAP. IV.

by double walls of an immense thickness; and the attacking enemy were to be repulsed from more than three hundred and fifty towers which stood at frequent intervals. The city commanded the lake Ascanius, and consequently it enjoyed communication with the Turks on the north-western shores of Bithynia.*

Siege and capture of Nice. A. D. 1097. 8th May—24th June.

The Latin princes were struck with astonishment at the height and solidity of the walls, and some of the soldiers approached them with the intention of an assault. But the poisoned arrows which were shot from the battlements made them repent of their temerity, and it was resolved that a formal siege should be commenced.† The different generals followed their own principles of hostility, and perhaps attacked those parts of the fortifications which were opposite to their respective posts. Hugh, the two Roberts, and Stephen of Chartres, applied their engines of war against the east. On that side also Raymond and Adhemar encamped their battalions when they reached the scene of hostility. Godfrey was on the north, and Bohemond was on the south.‡ The Crusaders were sufficiently numerous to assault the whole of the walls; they erected wooden towers,

* Robert, 40. Archb. of Tyre, 666.
† Albert, 204, 205. ‡ Robert, 39.

CHAP. IV. towers,* and having impelled them against the stone towers of the city, the engagements between the Christians and Muselmans were hand to hand. Kilidge Arslan, the Seljukian Sultan of Rhoum, with fifty thousand experienced troops, had stationed himself in the mountains which overhung the plains of his capital. On intelligence of the fruitless assault which the enemy had lately made, he resolved upon an immediate irruption into their camp, assisted by a sortie from the city. But his messengers were intercepted, and the threat of the punishment of death drew from them the secret. Raymond and Adhemar were apprised of the meditated irruption, and by forced marches arrived at their quarters on the east. On these places Soliman poured his squadrons: he knew not that his plans had been developed, or of the consequent reinforcement of the Christian army. If he had made repeated attacks upon the exhausted Provençals, he must have defeated them: but he quickly extended his hostility to the positions of Godfrey and the French

* These were the belfrois or beffreys so often used in the middle ages. Their summit, and other parts or stories of them, were occupied by armed men. They were usually moved on four wheels, and, to prevent injury from the Greek fire, they were covered with boiled horse or bullocks' skins.

French princes. The Moslems were on every spot received with firmness, and not being seconded by the garrison, they retreated with precipitation into the mountains. The courage of the Turks is impetuous, though not firm: and their retreats (as Urban had assured the people at Clermont) are not always the sign of discomfiture. The next morning they renewed their attacks, and the Nissians, understanding their intentions, made the expected sortie. But the Latins were numerous, their courage was fresh, and after an engagement, which was continued at intervals through the whole day, Kilidge Arslan was compelled to retire, and to leave Nice to its fate.* He expected to have found the Latins as feeble as the Greeks, or as disorderly as the rabble of Peter. But he confessed that their courage was like that of lions, and that a thousand of their cavalry would fearlessly charge twenty thousand Turks. He was surprised at the splendid military appearance of his enemies, their coats of mail, their ornamented and painted shields, their helmets shining in the sun, and their long ashen lances in their hands.

* Gesta, 5. Albert, 205-6. Archb. of Tyre, 667. Alexiad, 245.

CHAP. IV. hands.* The Christians were merciful to the messengers, finding that their statements had tallied with events, but they cut off the heads of the dead and wounded Turks; some they cast over the walls into the city, and others they sent as a present to the emperor. The gratitude of Alexius for the barbarous trophies was shewn by the return of plentiful supplies of provisions and necessaries for the camp, and the generals, in the fulness of their rejoicing, renewed their promises of fidelity.† The siege was recommenced with renewed courage. A sepulchre of the dead was converted into a resting place of the

* Albert, 241. These expressions relate to the Latins in general, and not, as Du Cange states, to the French alone. The Greek writers, Nicetas, Cinnamus, and Anna, praise the Latins for the dextrous use of the lance. It is certain, however, that at the time of the crusades no nation was more military than the French. They cultivated the art of war, for they thought it was imprudent to engage in battle before they had learned at least the rudiments of the dreadful subject. Tournaments were first used in France long antecedent to the crusades. Matthew Paris calls these representations of war, conflictus Gallici. Ralph of Coggeshall tells us of a man who died in a mock fight, more Gallicorum. Tournaments were introduced into England in the reign of Stephen: they fell into disuse, but were revived with great splendour in the time of Richard the First. M. Paris ad ann. 1179 et 1194. William of Newbridge, l. v. c. iv. Bromton, 1261.

† Albert, 207. Alexiad, 246.

the living. The hill of bones was fortified by the Christians, and made a tower of hostility.* The count Herman, and Henry of Ascha, endeavoured to batter down a tower by the machine called a Fox, but its imperfect construction rendered the attempt abortive, and twenty men were buried in the ruins. The commanders alone escaped.† Adhemar and Raymond assaulted a tower, apparently of ruined foundations. It had been severely injured in a former war, and from the projection of its lower part it was called "Gonatos," or the inclination of a bent knee.‡ For two days Raymond was constant in his attacks with two mangonels, which hurled stones of an enormous size against the walls: neither did he neglect to mine them under the cover of the Chats-chateils. But the tower did not fall, and if a breach were ever

made,

* Alexiad, 227.

† Albert, 208. The cunning of the invention, and not the shape of the machine, gave it the name of Fox. The Foxes were probably of the same class of engines as the Cats. The Cats were in the form of a covered gallery, fastened to the walls to afford shelter to the sappers. They were also made use of to fill up the ditches, in order that the beffrois (of which we have already spoken) might be brought near the walls. When those galleries were defended by towers, they were called Chats-chateils, i. e. cati castellati. Du Cange on Joinville.

‡ Alexiad, 246.

CHAP. IV. made, it was immediately repaired. The machines were at last destroyed by the stones and combustible materials of the Turks.* The carnage was great on both sides, and the Nissians dragged up with iron hooks numberless dead bodies of their foes, to mangle them in savage mockery, or to cast them down again when stripped of their raiment.† So long as the lake Ascanius was in Turkish subjection, the losses of the garrison could be repaired. At the solicitation, therefore, of the Latins,‡ Alexius sent a large number of vessels in frame from Civitot to the Christian camp. They soon were launched, and were filled by Butumite and the Turcoples who were in imperial pay. For a moment the Nissians thought that it was a succour from their Sultan, but the Grecian standards, the shouts of the men, and the noise of the lofty

* Albert, 208. Archb. of Tyre, 668, 670. Alexiad, 246.

† Malmsbury, 429.

‡ Though Alexius aided his allies on this occasion, yet he shewed a perpetual jealousy of their increasing numbers. About this time Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, and a large body of Italians, arrived at Nice, and put themselves under the command of Godfrey. In their passage they had halted at Constantinople; and Alexius had done every thing in his power to detain them, or to send them back. Tronchi, Memorie della citta di Pisa, p. 34. Livorno, 1682. Vitæ Rom. Pont. in Muratori, Rerum Script. Ital. vol. iii. pars 1. p. 400.

lofty instruments of war, soon changed their curiosity and joy into despair.* The Crusaders, now elate with hope, urged their assaults with increased courage. But a skilful Lombard did more towards the taking of the dreaded Gonatos than the rest of the army. Under the cover of a Chat-chateil, he and his associates loosened without pulling down the foundations of the tower, and supported the tottering fabric with logs of wood. The cavities were then filled with combustible matter, and the soldiers retired. In an hour of darkness the mass was ignited, the wooden supporters were scattered in the air, and the pile of stones fell with an alarming noise.† If the Latins had at that moment crossed the breach, Nice must have surrendered at discretion: but they delayed their assault, and when the morning appeared, they found that the active garrison had raised a new series of fortifications behind the ruins of the fallen bulwark. In the moment of terror the wife and sister of the Sultan had left the city, and attempted to escape by the lake. But they repented their want of brave endurance of dangers, for they were taken by the Greeks and Turcoples, who were sailing on every part.‡

 While

* Gesta, 6.

† Archb. of Tyre, 671. ‡ Ibid.

CHAP. IV.

Treachery of Alexius.

While the Franks were preparing to storm anew the repaired breaches in the walls, victory was snatched from their grasp by their friend and ally. At the commencement of the siege, the emperor joined to their forces two thousand men, under the command of Taticius, a man who, from the disgrace of slavery, had been advanced to the honour of governing the Turks on the Vardar.* The reasons which Alexius urged for not joining the Crusaders in person were trivial and absurd. He said that his army was, at its fullest extent, much inferior to that of his allies; that it would injure his dignity to appear in their camp; and that he dreaded the levity and inconstancy of the Latins.† He therefore crossed the Bosphorus, and stationed himself near Pelicanum. Suspicious of the tenacity of the Croises to their engagements, he had secretly commissioned Butumite, one of his most skilful envoys, to offer the Turks more favourable conditions of peace than could be expected from an enemy who would enter the city sword in hand.‡ The bustle of defence, and

* Alexiad, 88. Albert, 205,

† Alexiad, 247. The versatility of opinion, and suppleness of manners of the Latins, are mentioned by Anna Comnena as parts of the character of the western nations, and so strongly fixed in them as to be inseparable appendages of their nature. Alexiad, p. 224.

‡ Alexiad, 241, 242, 245.

and the hope of success, sometimes suspended the negotiation; but when the Sultana fell into the hands of the Greeks, and Butimite offered not only immunity and security to the besieged, but freedom and honour to the wife of Kilidge Arslan,* the Turks admitted him into the city, accepted his terms, and the crafty negotiator wrote to Taticius that their policy had succeeded. On the next morning the signal for attack was given, and the Franks rushed to the breaches. But the imperial trumpets were sounded, the banners of Alexius were hung over the walls, and Butumite proclaimed that the city was his master's.† The pride of the noble-minded men among the Crusaders was wounded at this artifice of their ally, but the common soldiers, disappointed in not sacking the town, were loud in their clamours against Alexius. The emperor had promised the leaders and people all the gold and silver and property in every captured city; and that in Nice he would build a Latin monastery, and also an hospital for the poor pilgrims. Alexius was bountiful in his presents to all classes of the Crusaders; and the generals, thinking of greater objects, dissembled their disgust, and endea-

voured

* Alexiad, 248. William of Tyre, 671.
‡ Ibid. 248.

CHAP. IV. voured by fair persuasions to stifle the anger of their troops.* Humanity rejoices that his selfishness preserved the city from becoming a scene of blood and rapine, but the policy was timid and ridiculous which would not permit any of the Crusaders to reside in Nice. Some people wished to dwell among the numerous religious antiquities of the place, but he would only suffer the Latins to enter the city by decades, and take a brief and hasty glance of the objects of veneration.†

Manners of the Christian camp.

Seven weeks were consumed in the siege of the capital of Bithynia, and the number of the Christians that died, or, in the language of the times,

* Raimond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 672. Baldric, 97. Guibert, 493.

† Alexiad, 250. In the fourth century Nice was the arena of theological polemics. In the eleventh century Christians and infidels fought in the same theatre. What is the state of this city in the present day? "It is not possible to form an idea of a more complete scene of desolation than Nice now exhibits;—streets without a passenger, houses without an inhabitant, and ruins of every age, fill the precincts of this once celebrated city. The walls are still pretty entire; they embrace a circuit of nearly three miles; but the spot enclosed by them is mostly taken up with gardens and mulberry grounds: there are not more than four hundred houses standing within the whole circumference, and out of these only one hundred and fifty are tenanted." Carlyle's Poems, &c. p. 14. London, 1805.

times, received martyrdom,* was considerable. The morals of the Croises were of less questionable merit than the cause for which they were in arms. The camp presented the rare and edifying spectacle of a chaste and sober soldiery:† and although not free from the common disposition of exalting past ages at the expense of the present, the confession was drawn from the severest censors, that there was far more virtue among the crusading warriors than among the hosts of Israel in old time. The simplicity and purity of the early church were revived. So affectionate was the union between the brotherhood, that all things were held in common. The generals not only commanded and fought, but watched, and did the most humble duties of the camp: so that the officer and the soldier were scarcely to be distinguished. Artificial discipline was needless when virtue pervaded every part of manners.

There

* Martyrdom was the undoubted enjoyment of the fallen Crusaders. Processions, called the Black Crosses, were usual in France, in commemoration of the great multitude who died, as it were crucified in the expeditions of these holy pilgrimages. Du Cange, Glossary, article Cruces nigræ.

† Ibi cum hominibus mulieres habitabant, sed vel in conjugio vel in legali ministerio—are the words of the good archbishop Baldric, p. 95.

CHAP. IV.

Interview between Alexius and the Chiefs.

There were some chiefs among the Crusaders who had not sworn fealty to Alexius; and the presence of all the great men was solicited at Pelicanum, in order to take a farewell of the emperor, and to receive from him new marks of his bounty. At the mention of riches, says the Grecian historian, the cupidity of Bohemond was fired, and he persuaded the rest to visit their new liege lord. Alexius treated them with magnificence and courtesy, and when he observed that they were pleased with his condescension, he gently alleged that as he had given them a promise of protection, and sanctioned it by an invocation to heaven, they should not refuse to take the oath of fidelity. No one declined, except Tancred, who declared that he had bound himself to the service of Bohemond, and that he would adhere to his obligation until death. The reproofs of the surrounding nobles served only to quicken his pride, and turning to Alexius, he exclaimed, "If you were to give "me as much money as this vast place could "hold, and would add as much as you have "given to the other chiefs, I would not take "the oath you request." A relation of the emperor replied with violence to language which was so foreign to a Byzantine court, and Tancred would have punished him on the spot, had not Alexius and Bohemond intervened. The pride

pride and anger of the noble cavalier did not continue long: but history is in doubt whether he became the liegeman of the emperor.*

A. D. 1097, 3 July. Commencement of the march through Asia Minor.

On the ninth day, subsequently to the capture of Nice, the Crusaders departed from the vicinity of the city, and took the road to Antioch. After a few days march, in a southerly direction, where the army suffered much from heat and thirst, they separated by mutual consent into two bodies, and in that order pursued their route. In one division were Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and Stephen of Chartres: in the other were Raymond, Godfrey, Adhemar, and Hugh.†

The loss of his capital had not dispirited Kilidge Arslan; but he flew to every part of his dominions; and by the time that the Crusaders left the emperor, his shrilling trumpet had summoned an army which has been variously estimated from two hundred thousand to three hundred and sixty thousand men.‡ He watched the march of the Latins; and when their force was

* Alexiad, 250. The princess Anna relates the taking of the oath by Tancred. Rad. Cad. p. 292, mentions the conversation between Tancred and the emperor, but gives us no reason to think that the oath was taken. The other Latin writers are silent.

† Arch. of Tyre, 672. Albert, 215. Alexiad, 251.

‡ Besides innumerable parties of Arabs, the vultures of an Asiatic camp.

CHAP. IV.

was broken, he prepared to attack the division of Bohemond, for that was the least numerous one. The Christians were reposing on the banks of a river in the valley of Gorgon, when the alarming rumour reached them of the rapid approach of the foe. Bohemond gave his camp to the charge of the infantry, and, with his cavalry, prepared himself for the impetuous shock of the Moslem savages. The sultan left about one half of his army in the mountains; with the other he descended into the plain: and his soldiers made the air ring with such shouts and yells, that the enemy, unused to the clamour, were filled with astonishment and alarm.* The heroes of Asia discharged their feathered artillery before the Christians could fight with their swords and lances. Few of the Turkish arrows fell without effect; for though the coat of mail defended the men, the horses were completely exposed. A brother of Tancred, and Robert of Paris, severally attempted to charge the Turks, and to press them to close combat; but they constantly evaded the onset, and their pointed weapons checked their furious foe. Both the gallant Italian and the haughty Frenchman

Battle of Doryleum.

* Agreeably to the fashion of the times, the devil was supposed to be the author of this clamour. The words diabolicus sonus, and demoniaca vox, occur within two lines of each other in the Gesta Francorum, p. 6.

Frenchman were slain; and the remains of their forces were compelled to retreat. Tancred himself fought as a soldier rather than as a general; but the prudent Bohemond drew him from increasing dangers. The Turks pursued their success, and pressed forwards to the camp of the Crusaders, where, laying aside their bows, they used their swords with equal execution. Mothers and their children were killed; and neither priests nor old men were spared.* The cries of the dying reached the ears of Bohemond, who, leaving the command to Robert of Normandy, rushed towards the tents, and scattered the enemy. The Christians, weary, thirsty, and oppressed with labour and heat, would have sunk into despair, if the women of the camp had not revived their courage, and brought them water from the stream. The combat was renewed with tenfold vigour. The Norman chieftain fought with all the valour which ennobled his family. He rallied the alarmed troops by his vociferations of those words of courage, *Deus id vult,* and, with his standard in his hand, he darted into the midst of

* Some of the matrons and damsels of quality preferred Turkish slavery and its accompaniments to a glorious death. They dressed themselves in their most sumptuous robes, exhibited all their charms, and threw themselves at the feet of the conqueror. Albert, p. 212.

CHAP. IV.

of the Moslems. When he was joined by Bohemond, all the Christians returned to their duty; despair gave birth to fierceness, and death was preferred to flight. But their fate was averted by the consequences of the early prudence of Bohemond. Immediately on the appearance of the Turks, he had sent messengers to Godfrey and the other leaders, who, at the head of forty thousand soldiers, hastened to assist their brethren. The duke of Lorraine and the count of Vermandois were the first that reached the field of battle; and Adhemar and Raymond soon increased the force. The Turks were panic struck at this unexpected event. In the breasts of the holy warriors revenge and emulation inflamed the ardour of conquest; and the holy flame burnt with double violence when, by the exhortations of the clergy, their minds were recalled to the nature of the cause for which they were in arms. Amidst the animating shouts of prayers and benedictions, the standard of the cross was unfurled, and every soldier swore to tell his devotion with revengeful deeds on the helmets of his foes. The heavy charge of the Latins was irresistible. The quivers of the Turks were exhausted; and in close combat the long and pointed swords of the Franks were more deadly than the Turkish sabres. The Moslems fled on every side, and abandoned

Victory of the Christians.

abandoned their camp in the mountains to the enemy. The Christians pursued them for three miles, and then, as devout as joyful, returned to their old positions singing hymns to God. Four thousand of the lower orders of the Franks, and three thousand commanders of the Turks, fell in this first great action between holy and infidel warriors.* The Turkish spoils amply repaid the fatigues of the day.† The next morning the Christians performed the melancholy task of separating their fallen companions from the corpses of the enemy; and the holy cross on the shoulder was a well known

distinction.

* The Archbishop's expression is, "Cecidisse dicuntur "illâ die de hostium numero viri potentes et incliti, et "apud suos locum maximum obtinentes, ad tria millia: "de nostris vero popularibus, et plebe infima promiscui "sexus, quatuor millia; nam de majoribus duos tantum "ibi corruisse, veterum tradit memoria," p. 674. In their public letter to Europe on the subject of the events of the war, the princes of the Crusaders wrote, that thirty thousand Turks were killed in the battle of Doryleum, and only three thousand Christians. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I. 568. It is evident from all the Latin accounts of the battle of Doryleum, that the Crusaders were surprised at the valour and military conduct of the Turks. They praise them as the first of all Asiatic nations, and vaunt their own superiority over the Greeks.

† Gesta, 7. Robert, 41. Guibert, 493, 494. Gesta, 564. Archb. of Tyre, 674. Rad. Cad. 293, 294. Mus. Ital. I. 155. De Guignes, vol ii. book 11. p. 21.

CHAP. IV. distinction. But feelings of joy soon succeeded to those of woe. They hastened to despoil the carcases of the Turks: "and who can tell "the quantity of gold and silver and clothes "which they found. The horses, mules, "camels, and asses, could not be numbered. "The poor instantly became rich, and the "naked were clothed."*

Distressing march through Phrygia.

Three days after the battle of Doryleum, the army recommenced its march, and entered the mountainous country of Phrygia. Unforeseen distresses encompassed them. The co-operation of Alexius was cold and confined, when his great object, the reduction of Nice, was achieved; and his fears of the virtue of his allies had made him conceal from them the horrors of a passage through Asia Minor to Syria. From the ruins of the Nissian Seljuks, Saisan, the son of Kilidge Arslan, raised a force of ten thousand horsemen, and going into those countries which they knew would be traversed by the Croises, they represented themselves as victors. The people were unable to oppose assertions which could be supported by the sword; and they admitted the Turks into their towns. The churches were despoiled, the public treasures were robbed, and the stores in the granaries were eaten or destroyed.† The miserable

* Robert, 42. † Tudebodus, 783.

miserable Christians followed their enemies through this wasted land. The soil too was dry and sterile; and Europeans could ill endure the heat of a Phrygian summer. In one day five hundred people died. Women, no longer able to afford sustenance to their infants, exposed their breasts to the swords of the soldiers. Many of the horses perished: the baggage (it was a lamentable yet a laughable sight, says an eye-witness,) was placed on the backs of goats, hogs, and dogs. These animals too died of thirst; and neither the dogs of the chace nor the falcons could hunt the prey which the woods afforded. The Crusaders passed the Phrygian mountains and deserts, and reached a country where the very means of life were fatal to many. They threw themselves without caution into the first river that presented itself; and nature could not support the transition from want to satiety. Their march to Antiochetta was effected without addition to their loss; and they found that that city had been spared from Turkish ravages.*

Expedition of Baldwin and Tancred into Cilicia.

When the soldiers had refreshed themselves at Antiochetta, Godfrey and Bohemond sent their seconds in command, Baldwin and Tancred,

* Baldwin, 99. Archb. of Tyre, 675. Guibert, 495. Fulcher, 389. Albert, 215.

cred, to explore the surrounding country, and to try the fortune of war with the Moslems.—These lieutenants directed their march to Iconium; but the people had deserted that city, and fled with their property into the mountains. Whenever skill or circumstances could favour them, the Turks anticipated the course of the Christians, and desolation marked their way. The Latins wandered and became separated among the rugged steeps of Cilicia; and Tancred at length found himself before Tarsus, which was then in Turkish possession, yet containing a considerable Armenian and Grecian population. The Turks wisely abandoned all thoughts of resistance. The standard of the Italian prince was placed on one of the city's towers, in token of victory; but the fate of the inhabitants was reserved for the decision of Bohemond and the grand army. A few days afterwards the appearance of some troops at a distance changed the sullen submission of the citizens into clamorous hostility. Tancred too thought that they were one of the numerous flying squadrons of the enemy; but he told the people that the righteousness of his cause would give him conquest; and even that if he should fail, Bohemond would punish their attempt to violate the treaty. He descended into the plain to meet the troops; but he found that it

it was Baldwin's soldiers who had caused the alarm. Their wanderings in the Cilician mountains ended in the plains round Tarsus. The Turks, who had lately been so loud in their rejoicings, sunk into lamentation; and the Italians willingly gave to their famished brethren some of those provisions which they had levied from the people.

Jealousy immediately seized the ambitious heart of Baldwin on beholding the standard of Tancred. The brother of Godfrey treated with contempt the claims of his noble compeer and Bohemond: he declared that as his troops composed the most numerous division, he was entitled to command. To this disgusting arrogance Tancred mildly replied, that, as he had taken Tarsus without any co-operation, he was justified in retaining it. Unable to resist altogether the power of the conquerors, and yet greedy of plunder, the Frenchman proposed that the city should be delivered to general spoliation. But the high-minded Italian declared that his religion forbade him from injuring his brethren in the faith. The people of Tarsus had chosen him as their lord, and he would never remove from them his protecting shield. It was finally agreed that the citizens should determine whose dominion they would submit to; and they declared that they preferred the

CHAP. IV. dominion of Tancred to that of any other general.

Injustice of Baldwin.

The ambition of Baldwin was incompatible with justice: and while Tancred suspected no wrong, he intrigued with the Christians and with the Turkish garrison. He told them that Bohemond and Tancred were men of small consideration; and were not to be compared with Godfrey, who had been chosen leader of the army of Crusaders.* If the people would elect Baldwin

* This assertion of Baldwin that his brother Godfrey was generalissimo, was an artifice in order to gain consequence with the people of Tarsus. The whole tenor of the crusade shews, that whatever respect was paid to Godfrey, was not a tribute to power, but to superior virtues and talents. The duke of Lorraine never attempted to convert that superiority which was yielded to his merits, into a real dominion. The operations of the army were directed by a council of chiefs, of which the count of Blois and Chartres was the president. Archb. of Tyre, p. 703. It was the celebrated Benedetto Accolti who furnished Tasso with the idea that Godfrey was supreme commander. Accolti wrote in the fifteenth century an account of the first crusade. It is short, but expressive and entertaining; and the notes to Dempster's edition of it are full of learning and criticism. The work of the secretary of the republic of Arezzo was very popular for a time; and it is a reasonable conjecture of Dr. Joseph Warton, that Tasso took from it the hint of his fine subject. The Rev. J. H. Hunt has, I observe, in his late excellent translation of the Jerusalem Delivered, adopted the opinion that it was the Lusiad of Camoens that first stimulated the ambition

Baldwin for their chief, they should be honoured and rewarded by the duke of Lorraine. Otherwise their city should be condemned to destruction; a doom which no power of the Italian lords could reverse. These threats and promises prevailed; the banner of the conqueror was trodden under foot, while that of Baldwin floated from the citadel. Tancred concealed his mortification, and retired to the neighbouring town of Azara, then in the possession of the Crusaders. When his troops were recruited, he carried them to conquest. The town of Mamistra fell before him; and the most valuable part of the spoil were horses, more than sufficient to repair the losses which his own soldiers had sustained. The departure of Tancred from Tarsus determined the Turks and Armenians; and they opened their city to his successful rival. The Turkish garrison, however, retained all the fortifications, except two towers, which were given to some of the soldiers of Baldwin, while the rest of his people were dispersed through the place. At the commencement of night three hundred soldiers of the army of Bohemond presented themselves at the gates, claiming admittance and hospitality. Their fatigue and hunger touched not the selfishness of Baldwin, for they

ambition and roused the jealousy of Tasso to write an heroic poem.

CHAP. IV. they were the friends of Tancred; and the hypocrite attempted to justify his inhumanity by declaring that it would be a violation of the oath which he had taken to the Turks and Armenians, were he to admit into the city any soldiers but those of Godfrey. His troops, however, more humane than their leader, because less ambitious, lowered viands over the walls to their half-famished brethren of the cross, who prepared to repose themselves in the fields. The Turks doubted the fidelity of Baldwin to his oath; and, in the secrecy and darkness of the night, they left the city with their families and property, through the gates of the towers whereof they had retained the possession. They unavoidably reached the place where the soldiers of Bohemond were reposing, in consciousness that their comrades were masters of Tarsus. This opportunity of shedding blood was not lost; and the Moslems left but few of the Italians alive to tell the dismal consequences of fearless confidence. In the morning, when the soldiers of Baldwin went to the ramparts in order to mark the state of their comrades, they saw their headless trunks, and the fields running with their gore. Baldwin and his generals were violently accused with being the authors of this calamity, and the walls of the towers alone preserved them from the first fury of popular

popular indignation. It cannot be supposed that the sophistical argument which Baldwin urged of his inability to admit any Christians to enter the town could appease the tumult, but he turned the tide of anger from himself to about two hundred Turks, who had not fled with their companions. These poor wretches were sacrificed to revenge and fury, passions which were aggravated by the sight of many illustrious women of Tarsus, whose noses and ears had been cut off because they resisted the brutal licentiousness of their Turkish lords. All inclinations to rebellion were stifled by new circumstances. For eight years a large band of pirates from Holland and France had been sailing in the Mediterranean, and touched by that superstition which influenced both the vicious and the virtuous, they resolved to atone for their robberies on Christians by plundering the infidel Moslems. They landed near Tarsus, while Baldwin was in the city. The different people recognized each other as countrymen; and as Weimar, one of the principal pirates, had once lived upon the estate of the dukes of Lorraine, an union was easily effected. Some days were past in merriment and feasting, and then leaving in the city a garrison of five hundred men, formed from both bodies of soldiers, the lord of Tarsus and his troops followed the

steps

War between Tancred and Baldwin.

steps of Tancred, and arrived near Mamistra. Richard, prince of Salernum, urged his kinsman to seize this occasion of revenging his wrongs on Baldwin. The advice was congenial with the indignant feelings of the young Italian, and his soldiers readily imbibed the same spirit. He sent his archers into the plain against such of Baldwin's troops as were in their tents, and to destroy the horses which were in pasturage, and himself led five hundred of his heavily armed warriors against the treacherous Frenchman. But the force of Tancred could not successfully cope with that of his antagonist. After some ineffectual exhibitions of bravery, the baffled Italians retreated into the city, and among the captives they had the misfortune to reckon the prince of Salernum, and a renowned chief, named Robert of Ansa. Feelings of charity and peace succeeded this sanguinary encounter. The next morning, both parties sent deputies to each other, prisoners were interchanged, and the Christians were ashamed or weary of their unbrotherly feuds. Baldwin hastened to return to the grand army, and visit his brother Godfrey, who was ill of a wound which he had received in a contest with a boar in the forest round Antiochetta.* The

* About this time the count of Tholouse was dangerously ill. His patron saint, the holy Giles, promised assistance; but

pirates were left with Tancred, who overrun all Cilicia with fire and sword. He carried his conquests as far as Alexandretta. The Turks fled to the mountains, and wisely appeased the fury of the Christians by sending to their camp large presents of gold, silver, horses, and provisions.* Baldwin rejoined the main army at Marascha, its first general resting place after its departure from Antiochetta. They had passed through Iconium and Heraclea, and those, and all other places, were abandoned by the natives before they arrived. Their fatigues and privations in their route from Heraclea to Marascha bore down the courage of the firmest; and if the Turks had acted with more policy than precipitation, Jerusalem would always have continued under the Moslem yoke. One of the mountains towards the south of the great chain of Mount Taurus admitted the passage of only a single file; and the road was so rugged, that several of

Distresses of the main army in the passage through Lycaonia.

but the messenger to Raymond of the saint's intentions was not implicitly credited; for the attendants took the count from his bed, and laid him on the floor to die in dust and ashes. The saint, however, was as good as his word, notwithstanding the want of faith in his pretended votaries. Raymond de Agiles, 142. Mabillon, i. 157.

* For this joint expedition of Tancred and Baldwin, I have followed Albert, 215-220, Archb. of Tyre, 676-680, and Rad. Cad. 297-301.

CHAP. IV.

of the beasts of burthen stumbled and fell into the abyss. The soldiers, exhausted and fainting with thirst, thought only of personal safety, and many of them disencumbered themselves of their helmets and armour.*

Foundation of the Latin state of Edessa.

The crimes of Baldwin were heard of with merited indignation by all the Latin soldiers: most of his own deserted him, and if he had not been the brother of Godfrey, his selfishness and disregard to justice would not have been unpunished by Bohemond and his Italians.† A reception of this description was not calculated to unite him to the army and its holy purposes, and he resolved to execute those dazzling prospects of ambition which some late events had presented to his fancy. Pancrates, an Armenian prince, had represented to him that the countries on the other side of the Euphrates were rich, and that a large Christian population was oppressed by small bodies of Turks. Baldwin collected such of the troops as were still faithful to his standard, and at the head of two hundred horsemen, and a large party of foot soldiers, he quitted the main army in order to plunder and devastate Mesopotamia. Between

* Archb. of Tyre, 684. Albert, 224. Tudebodus, 784. Agreeably to usual practice, the mountain most difficult of passage was called the mountain of the Devil.

† Archb. of Tyre, 681.

tween Marascha and the Euphrates all the towns opened their gates. Turbessel was left in the possession of the Armenians, and the son of Pancrates was appointed governor of Ravendel. The friendship between the brother of Godfrey and his ally was soon turned into deadly hatred. Two Armenian princes charged Pancrates with the wish to enjoy Ravendel without owning the authority of the Franks. Neither torture nor imprisonment could for a while extort an order for the delivery of the contested place to the soldiers of Baldwin: but the savage command that the limbs of Pancrates should be torn asunder deprived him of all remains of courage, and the Armenian acceded to the desires, and then fled from the service of his master.*

The fame and power of Baldwin spread beyond the Euphrates; and the discontented inhabitants of Edessa looked to him as their saviour. That city was still enjoyed by the Greeks, though it paid an heavy tribute to the emir of the surrounding country. Its remoteness from Constantinople enfranchised the governor, and the Edessenes were oppressed both by his exactions and the Turkish tribute. For the removal of submission to the Moslems, the people compelled Thoros, duke of Edessa, to crave

* Albert, 220, 221.

CHAP. IV. crave the aid of Baldwin; and at their solicitation he prepared to pass the Euphrates. The two hundred horse soldiers with which he had left the army of Godfrey were now diminished, by the accidents of war, and the establishing of conquests, to the small number of eighty. With them, and the scanty remains of foot soldiers, he entered Mesopotamia, and the people of the vicinity of Edessa, with crosses and standards, met their allies, prostrated themselves, and kissed the feet of those whom they considered to be their preservers.* The testimonies of honour which Baldwin received from the clergy and people made the duke of Edessa apprehend that his friends would become his masters. Apparently in order to discover the intentions of the stranger, he offered to make him large pecuniary rewards if he would remain in the town, and defend it from the exactions of the Turks. But Baldwin disdained submission, and declared that he would instantly quit the country. The timid people pressed the duke to retain him, and as he was childless, even to adopt him as his son. Unable to resist the torrent of opinion, Thoros, in full council, received Baldwin to his arms, threw over him his own shirt, folded him to his bosom, and gave him the kiss of filiation. The wife of the duke also made the Italians undergo the

* Fulcher, 389.

the same strange ceremony, and she embraced him as her child.* From that time, confident of the aid of Baldwin, the Edessenes looked for an opportunity to revenge themselves upon the Turks. The Ortokides, whom we have already mentioned as possessors of Jerusalem a few years before the crusade, spread their conquests into Mesopotamia, and at the time of which we are now writing, Balduc, an Ortokide, was lord of the fortress of Samosat, which of right appertained to Edessa. He kept up an incessant course of robbery on the flocks and herds of the Greeks; and, in hopes of reaping profit by their ransom, he seized women and children. Some of these people were in the tower of Samosat, and the Edessenes implored Baldwin to go to their rescue. Constantine, an Armenian prince, governor of Gargara, near Marascha, was also called. The two chiefs joined their levies, defeated their enemies in the field, and drove them into the citadel. While the Christians were rioting

* Guibert, 496. Archb. of Tyre, 682, 684. De Guignes, vol. ii. part ii. p. 137. Guibert, who occasionally gives us a notion of the manners of the time, says that he heard the mode of the adoption was as follows:—" Intra lineam inte-" rulam, quam nos vocamus *Camisiam,* nudum intrare eum " faciens, sibi adstrinxit; et deinde omnia osculo libato " firmavit. *Idem et mulier post modum fecit.*"—Guibert, p. 496.

CHAP. IV rioting in the suburbs of Samosat, the Moslems made a sortie; two thousand of the plunderers were slain, and Constantine and Baldwin fled to Edessa.* The personal merits of the latter soon redeemed him from the disgrace of defeat, and the senate and people conspired to rid themselves of their old master, whom they charged with having stimulated the Turks to plunder their country, whenever they had declined to submit to his exactions. Baldwin refused his concurrence with their wishes, alleging the sacredness of his filial character, and his dread of endangering his fair name among the Christian princes. He went to the king, and warned him against popular fury. The wretched Thoros offered to resign all his treasures to his rebellious subjects, and retire from the country. At one moment the people assented to these conditions; in the next they exclaimed that his life must be forfeited, to atone for the injuries which his pusillanimity and avarice had drawn on their heads. He endeavoured to escape by a cord from the window of his tower, but the conspirators saw their victim, and pierced him with a thousand arrows. His head was carried about in triumph, and the Edessenes committed every species

* Archb. of Tyre, 683. Albert, 222. Matthew of Edessa, 308. Bayeri, Hist. Osrhoena et Edessena, lib. v.

species of indignity upon his body.* The next morning Baldwin was crowned prince of Edessa, and received the royal treasures. Balduc, assured that resistance to this foe would be a fruitless wasting of blood, offered to resign the fortress of Samosat for ten thousand pieces of gold. Baldwin expected an unconditional submission, but he was obliged to yield to the extortion, because the Turk threatened to kill all the Edessenes who were in his power. By the conditions of the treaty, Balduc and his attendants went to Edessa, and some suspicions of treachery made Baldwin insist that his wife and children should be given as hostages. The Ortokite could not resist a nominal compliance with the demand, yet he from day to day neglected to perform it.† The new Edessene lord soon experienced the instability of popular favour, and it was found that the people had changed their masters, without having lost their slavery. Conspiracies were formed against him, but he unravelled and exposed the machinations of his rebellious subjects, and showed his ability

* Albert, 122. Archb. of Tyre, 683. Matthew of Edessa takes the side of Thoros, and charges the people with deep ingratitude. The crime of rebellion is owned by the Latin historians : the violation of their promise to Thoros rests on the authority of Matthew only

† Albert, 222.

CHAP. IV. for the difficult task of forming a new government. He engaged also in a foreign war, and by the conquest of Sororgia, all the road between Antioch and Edessa belonged to the Crusaders. Balak, the grandson of Ortoc, had been the lord of Sororgia, and when his castle was taken from him, he entered into an alliance with the Christians, But he soon offered to surrender even the last place which remained to him, and to live with his family in Edessa, urging as his reason, that his connexion with Baldwin brought upon him the hatred of the Muselmans. The new prince of Mesopotamia gave some credit to the sincerity of this wish, and went on an appointed day with two hundred cavaliers to the fortress of Balak. Suspicious by nature as well as by experience, he remained on his guard, but twelve of his soldiers were seized by the emir, who had not the prudence to conceal his treachery till circumstances could allow him to complete his scheme of villainy. All demands for a restoration of the prisoners were refused. Baldwin, not being strong enough to enforce his requisition, retired to his capital, but Fulbert of Chartres, commander of Sororgia, laid waste the petty dominions of the Ortokites, and procured the release of ten of the Frenchmen; the other two were decapitated by the Turks. Baldwin affected not to respect the virtue and honour

honour of his other foe, and he embraced the occasion of an attempt of Balduc at an escape, to seize this dangerous emir, and put him to death.*

While a few ambitious and courageous soldiers were triumphing over an inert population, and founding an European state in Mesopotamia, the general force of the Crusaders was advancing towards the capital of Syria. The Armenians frequently assisted their brethren in the faith with arms and provisions.† The count of Flanders, and one thousand knights, went to Artesia (since Calchidia), and with the aid of the Christian inhabitants, destroyed the Moslem garrison. The news of this loss alarmed Baghasian, the Seljukian governor of Antioch, and he dispatched ten thousand men to check the march of his enemy. Some of his squadrons ravaged the Artesian territory, while their more numerous battalions kept concealed. Though acquainted with the nature of Turkish warfare, the impetuous courage of the Franks overleaped the suggestions of experience. The

count

* Albert and the archbishop, *ubi supra;* and De Guignes, tome ii. p. 136.

† Quand les Allemands passèrent pour aller dans la Terre Sainte, Nicétas dit que les Arméniens les reçurent comme amis, parce qu'ils n'adoroient pas les images. Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, chap. xxii.

CHAP. IV. count poured his troops upon the plains, the Turks withdrew, and led the foe into the ambuscade. When recovered from their astonishment, the Christians endeavoured to fall back upon their old position: but not a man would have escaped the edge of the Tartarian scymitar, if Tancred had not at that exigent moment joined them on his return to Bohemond from his Cicilian conquests. His arrival changed the fate of the day, and his sword was so deeply stained with Turkish blood, that he enabled his friends to retreat to Artesia.* Open force was as inefficacious as stratagem for the recovery of the city, whose lofty towers, and ample stores of provisions, bade defiance to a siege. The Turks made some efforts at the walls, and then returned to Baghasian, communicating the alarming news of the approach of the whole force of the Crusaders.† Godfrey and his army refreshed themselves at their new conquest, and then took the road to Antioch. Every measure announced the growing importance of the expedition. Orders were issued, forbidding individuals to quit the ranks without leave of their generals, and Robert of Normandy was sent before to remove the difficulties

* Albert, 225. Rad. Cad. 303. M. of Edessa, 308.

† Albert, *ubi suprà;* and the Archb. of Tyre, 685.

ties of the march. The river Orontes was one of the barriers of the city, and possession of the iron bridge* was necessary for an attacking army: but its guard had been considerably increased, and Robert lost so many men in attempting to force a passage, that he anxiously looked for co-operation. Whether the assurances of Adhemar to the Normans, that God was on that day fighting with them, inspired the soldiers to one great effort, or whether the arrival of Godfrey appalled the Turks, is a subject of vain and useless discussion; but in fact the gates of the bridge soon were in the hands of the Latins, and all the army passed. On the next morning they invested Antioch.†

Arrival of the Latins before Antioch. October 21st, 1097.

* The bridge was of nine stone arches, and from the circumstance of its gates being covered with iron plates, it received the title of the Iron Bridge. Pocock, Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 172.

† Guibert, 498. Baldric, 101. Albert, 226. Archb. of Tyre, 685.

CHAP. V.

MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF THE CROISES AT ANTIOCH.

The city invested......Unskilful operations of the Croises ......Famine in the Christian Camp......Singular mode of getting rid of spies......Many of the Croises desert......Manners of the camp......Embassy of the caliph of Egypt......Policy of the Latins...... The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa......Prowess of the Latin chiefs......Inhumanity of the Latins ......Retreat of the count of Chartres......Antioch taken by stratagem......The Croises massacre the inhabitants......The Persians attack the Franks...... The Latins are blockaded......Second Famine...... More desertions......Alexius abandons his allies...... Impiety of some new Croises......Direful effects of Alexius' retreat......The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds......Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians......Prudence of Godfrey......Preparations for battle......Battle of Antioch......Victory of the Croises.

THE capital of Syria was only four miles in circumference, and extended over both elevated and level land. It was surrounded by a wall; and, in those places where the mountainous nature of the ground presented no natural defence,

fence, the height of the artificial bulwark was more than sixty feet. A deep ditch nearly encompassed the city; the Orontes washed part of the western walls; and opposite to the spots on the north and east, where the Crusaders encamped, was a marsh, which had been formed by the waters from the adjacent hills.* On the prospect of an attack, the emir, a grandson of Malek Shah, made every preparation of defence. The fortifications were repaired and furnished with hostile engines; and the magazines of provisions were replenished. Most of the male Christian population were considered superfluous consumers of stores, and were dismissed from the place. Antioch was the refuge of many of those people whom the Latins in their march had dispossessed; and the auxiliary and native troops amounted to six thousand or seven thousand horse soldiers, and from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand foot.†

Antioch invested.

The formidable appearance of the city sunk the heroism of some of the leaders into timorous prudence. They urged in council that many of their troops were dispersed over the country in various garrisons, and could not be recalled till the spring. In that season the emperor of Constan-

* Archb. of Tyre, 686, &c.

† Mus. Ital. I. 161. Archb. of Tyre. 688, 689.

CHAP. V. Constantinople would send money and stores, and succours of men would also arrive from the west. But Raymond and others contended that inaction would produce vice and disorder; and a delay of the attack would be construed by the Turks into a consequence of inability and cowardice. "The power of God, which has "hitherto given us victory, will still be our "spear and shield; and while we are favoured "by heaven, we need not fear either princes, "or places, or times."* This appeal to bravery and religion banished despondency; and in order to guard against relaxation or cowardice, the chiefs bound themselves by oath not to desist from the siege till the city should be taken by force or stratagem.† The plan of attack was agreed upon; and the camp was formed round the eastern, northern, and towards the western sides: part of the west and all the south were left open to the besieged. The city had five gates: and by this arrangement, the gate of the bridge, and the gate of St. George belonged to the Turks. The other three gates were blockaded. Bohemond and Tancred, who commanded the Italians, were opposite the entrance of the east, called the gate

* Raimond, 142. Archb. of Tyre, 689.
† Malmsbury, 432.

gate of St. Paul. The two Roberts, Stephen of Chartres, and Hugh Vermandois, with the Normans, the French, the Flemish, and the English extended from the camp of Bohemond, in a northerly direction, to a gate called the gate of the dog. From this gate to that of the duke, so named from the title of Godfrey, were Raymond and Adhemar with the people of Gascony, Provence, and Burgundy. Godfrey, with his brother, and Conon of Montagu, and Reginald of Toul, accompanied by the people of Lorraine, the Frisons, the Saxons, the Franconians, and Bavarians, extended from the gate of the duke towards that of the bridge.*

For some time the Crusaders rioted in plenty, totally undisturbed by the people of Antioch. The vallies round the city were fertile in corn and grapes; and herds of cattle were fed in their rich meadows.† Some days were lost by the besieged in the oppression of terror; but at length they resumed their heroism, and the horrors of war began. The few Greeks and Armenians of the city were allowed free communication with their brethren; and it was the universal complaint that they reported to the Turks the state of the Franks, and the preparations

* Archb. of Tyre, 689. De Guignes, vol. ii. part 2. p. 87.
† Baldric, 101.

CHAP. V.

tions for hostility.* The garrison made frequent sallies from the unblockaded gates; and by the desultory mode of war in which the Turks excel, they harassed the foraging parties, and the imperfectly guarded places of the camp.† For want of a bridge near the station of Godfrey, the Latin soldiers were obliged to wade or swim over the river, which it was necessary for them to pass when they were in quest of provisions. Ingenuity, however, at length assisted them; and a number of boats lashed together united the opposite shores.— They hurled enormous stones, and impelled their battering-rams against the walls; but Antioch had in former ages resisted many a vigorous attack, and the mouldering hand of time had spared it. The usual battering instruments were ineffectual; and, at the cost of much invention and labour, they erected a new machine in the shape of a tower, and filled it with troops. The soldiers of Raymond wheeled it to the gate; but the showers of arrows from the Turks destroyed the assailants, and the besieged made a sortie at the same time, and set fire to the artificial tower, which was soon reduced to ashes. Their subsequent efforts against

Unskilful operations of the Croises.

* Baldric, ubi sup. Robert. 45.
† Archb. of Tyre, 690. Gesta, 11.

against the walls were equally vain, for the Antiochians attacked them in the rear as well as from the battlements. As all the courage and skill of the Crusaders had been foiled, they now opposed the Turks by means which could only have been expected from the simplicity and ignorance of savages. They dug immense stones from neighbouring rocks, and accumulated them in such piles before the gate of the bridge, that the people of the city were in that quarter effectually barricadoed.*

So unskilful were the operations of the besiegers, that, at the end of three months, Antioch stood firm and uninjured. The labours of the Croises were in circle rather than in progression. The distresses which they had made in the country now recoiled on themselves; they repented of their improvident waste of the forage which they had collected from the other side of the river. The vicinity of Antioch was exhausted, and the wintry season prevented any commerce between the camp and distant lands. The sword of the enemy, and the more afflicting pangs of hunger, daily carried off numbers both of rich and poor.† An ox, which at the commencement of the siege was scarcely worth fifteen

Famine in the Christian camp.

* Archb. of Tyre, 691.

† Robert, 46. Fulcher, 390. Archb. of Tyre, 692.

CHAP. V. fifteen shillings, became as valuable as four pounds. The price of a lamb or kid was increased nearly twenty-fold. The pods of unripe beans were considered as delicacies; and thistles were held in the same estimation; though, in consequence of the scarcity of fuel, they could only be half boiled. Carrion was openly dressed; and human flesh was eaten in secret.* Twenty-four shillings scarcely furnished a horse's provender for one night; and hence the cavalry, which at the beginning of the siege numbered more than seventy thousand† horses, was soon after Christmas reduced to two thousand. The winter rains were heavier than usual; they made a morass of the camp, and putrified the tents and military accoutrements. Pestilential diseases necessarily sprung from these calamities. The surface of the Latin positions presented the appearance of one vast burial place. Many of the soldiers escaped evils which active bravery could not resist, nor patient endurance

* The assertion of cannibalism is made by Malmsbury, p. 433. Cannibalism was carried to a great extent by the lowest of the low, who, in the course of the siege, were formed into a regular battalion, and fought bravely with the Turks. "Et si Sarracenum noviter interfectum invenerunt, "illius carnes, ac si essent pecudis, avidissime devorabant."

† This is the archbishop of Tyre's statement, p. 692. If it be correct, then, the Crusaders lost thirty thousand horses at the siege of Nice, and in their march through Asia Minor.

endurance mitigate, by flying to the Christian settlements in Cilicia and Mesopotamia. Robert of Normandy went to a new English colony in Laodicea, and did not return to the army till he had been thrice recalled.* By the advice of the council, Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Flanders, with all the cavalry and fifteen thousand foot soldiers, made a predatory excursion into the Turkish territories. Raymond and Adhemar remained to guard the camp. Godfrey was oppressed by illness. Acquainted with every movement of their foes, the Turks seized this favourable occasion of attacking them; the bravery of the Christians rose with their dangers; they routed the infidels: but the impetuosity of their valour urged them to press too quickly after the Turks; and their imprudence cost them dear; for a new sally was made upon their divided squadrons, and the Moslems recovered the day. Bohemond and his troops returned to the camp with large stores of provisions; but they were soon exhausted by the ill disciplined army; and the Turks learnt that famine had once more afflicted their enemy. Experience at length taught the Crusaders the propriety of vigilance, and of total separation

* Fulcher, 391. Guibert, 500. Archb. of Tyre, 693. Rad. Cad. 305.

CHAP. V. separation from the people in Antioch. Under the disguise of Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, the Moslems frequently mixed with the army, and reported its condition to Baghasian. A repetition of such conduct was prevented by an expedient at once ludicrous and dreadful. Bohemond slew some Turkish prisoners, and roasted them in general presence. He then exclaimed to the astonished bye-standers that his appetite would submit to necessity, and that during the famine he would greedily devour what at other times would be loathsome and disgusting.*

Singular mode of getting rid of spies.

Many of the Crusaders desert.

Desertions multiplied, and among those which gave most offence to the generals, was the departure from the army of Taticius. He represented to the council that if he were permitted to go to Constantinople, he would induce his imperial master to open the granaries for the benefit of his liegemen. He would bind himself by oath to return, and would leave his tents as the pledge of his fidelity. Whether the chiefs were seduced by these fair promises, or whether they foresaw his treachery, and yet thought it prudent to conceal their feelings, is an uncertain and immaterial point. Taticius, and

* Albert, 231, 2. Archb. of Tyre, 693. De Guignes, vol. 2. liv. 12. p. 88. Bernardus, p. 691.

and his soldiers departed, never to return, and, according to the lamentation of the archbishop of Tyre, the people with so pernicious an example before them, had no scruple in violating their oaths and public professions.* The desertion of Taticius was not the only great instance of cowardice in this part of the siege. Two other columns of the sacred army gave way. The warriors were confounded by the departure of William viscount Melun, surnamed the Carpenter,† and the fanatics were disgraced by the

* This is the account of the flight of Taticius, as given by the Latin historians. Raimond, 146. Guibert, 502. William of Tyre, 694. The story is far more plausible than that of the princess Anna. She tells us (p. 252) that Bohemond had formed plans for the possession of Antioch, and that he was unwilling to deliver it up to Taticius agreeably to the conditions of his oath. A report was at that time in circulation, that the sultan of Persia was about to succour Baghasian. Bohemond told Taticius that the Latin princes thought this succour was at the instigation of Alexius, and that therefore they would punish his treason by destroying his general and soldiers. On this hint Taticius fled.

† So called, say Guibert and Robert, not because he was an artificer in wood; but because his battle-axe fell with the weight of a hammer, and broke through helmets and hauberks. The viscount of Melun was not celebrated for practical religion. He prepared his viaticum for Jerusalem from the plunder of poor people who lived near his estate in France. Guibert, p. 501.

CHAP. V.

the worldly mindedness of Peter.* They attempted to fly together, but Tancred met them, and brought them to the tent of Bohemond. Reproaches alone would not have constituted their punishment, if royal authority and influence had not turned the sword of justice aside. At the request of Hugh of Vermandois, Bohemond accepted the declaration and oath of William, that he would never give up the holy undertaking, or bear enmity against Tancred for having intercepted his flight. Peter likewise was pardoned.†

Morals of the camp.

The famine still continued, and was as productive of crimes as the most unbounded plenty. The Croises were in that state of sullen savage desperation which the extreme of misery often produces. The dying and the dead were spectacles so familiar to their eyes, that death no longer

* "When the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; "he found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, "and a necessary and indispensable famine in a camp: so "that being well nigh hunger-pinched, this cunning com- "panion, who was a trumpet to sound a march to others, "secretly sounded a retreat to himself." Fuller's Holy War, book I. c. 8. The jesuit Oultreman, in his life of Peter, does not mention his hero's flight from Antioch.

† Gesta, II. Robert, 48. The latter is charitable enough to hope that it was hunger, and not cowardice, which made the carpenter and the hermit take flight. Baldric, 103. Guibert, 501. Tudebodus, 787. Mus. Ital. I. 165.

longer taught them morality. The exhortations of the clergy to virtue, though ceaseless, were in vain, and at the suggestion of the papal legate, judicial punishments were inflicted on moral crimes. Gaming, usury, drunkenness, and frauds in buying and selling, were cognisable by a tribunal, which was composed of lay and clerical elders. The pious Adhemar thought that conjugal affection was as sinful as immodest love, and that perfect chastity would be visited by divine favour. The women, both vicious and modest, were therefore separated from the men, and placed in a remote corner of the camp. About the same time Godfrey rose from the bed of sickness, and the people had no difficulty in accounting for this consolation by their return to piety.*

 The

* Albert, 234. Gesta, 567. Archb. of Tyre, 695. A rumour was in circulation through the camp of the Crusaders, that Sueno, the son of a king of Denmark, and fifteen hundred men, had perished in a valley in Cappadocia. Kilidge Arslan had rallied his soldiers, and had fallen upon and totally destroyed this body of the champions of the cross, in their march from Constantinople into Syria. This story rests on the authority of Albert of Aix (p. 233), and his transcriber, the Archbishop of Tyre (p. 694). Langebeck (Script. Rerum Danicarum, iii. 631, &c.) a strenuous advocate for its truth, confesses, that not one of the Danish historians mentions it. He attempts to fortify his opinion on the existence of

CHAP. V.

Embassy of the Fatimite caliph.

The news of the invasion of Syria by the Franks had spread over all the east, and the event particularly affected the Muselman power in Egypt. The caliph Mosthadi had heard too of the famished condition of the Christians before Antioch, and thought that he could dictate terms of amity. He sent an embassy to the camp; but the Crusaders, forwarned of its approach, prepared to receive it with magnificence. They ornamented their tents, and arrayed themselves in all the splendour which they could assume. Many of the soldiers were engaged in military exercises; others in games, and the chiefs were assembled in council. The ambassadors were surprised at this appearance of prosperity and strength, and delivered the message which the supposition of another state of things had dictated. If the Christians would be obedient to the Caliph, he wished them prosperity. He could not understand the reason of their desire to travel armed to the holy sepulchre. If they would go thither as pilgrims, he would assist them in their march. The

Policy of the Latins.

of a bas-relief in bronze, exhibiting Sueno in the habit of a Crusader. But this relief was made by order of Christian I. who reigned in the last half of the seventeenth century. There is no doubt, however, that the Danes made pilgrimages to the holy land, both before and after the council of Clermont.

The permission of a month's residence in Jerusalem should be granted to every individual who thought that it was his duty to honour the temple and sepulchre. If, however, they were still confident in their arms, he warned them against temerity, for no human power had hitherto effectually opposed the caliphs of Egypt. The chiefs of the Crusade replied, that they appeared at the present time as warriors, because in their former character of pilgrims they had been despised and cruelly treated. The holy land belonged of right to the people of God, and though in chastisement of their offences it was under the Turkish yoke, yet the wrath of heaven was satisfied, and Palestine would once again flourish. The Muselmans gloried over the vanquished Greeks; but their crests would be humbled by the prowess of the Latins, The Egyptians would require the indulgence which they now proffered. Heaven had given Jerusalem to the Christians, and man could not withhold it from them. They would retain it, and guard the sepulchre from all profanation.* With this reply the conference

* This is the account of the embassy as reported by Robert, who, short in most of his narratives, is full on this subject. The archbishop of Tyre relates the story differently. He tells us (p. 696), that the caliph rejoiced in the successes of

CHAP. V. ference ended. The ambassadors took the way for Cairo, and were accompanied by deputies of the Crusaders.*

Baghasian observed that neither hunger nor cold, nor fatigue, could turn the holy warriors from their purpose. He implored the aid of all the Muselman princes and emirs in Syria, and those of Cesarea, Aleppo, and Ems prepared twenty thousand men. It was intended that they should be aided in their endeavours to enter Antioch by a sortie from the city. But the Franks were informed of these schemes, and Bohemond and Raymond prepared to meet the reinforcement before it could reach its destination. At the head of seven hundred horsemen, all the remains of their once splendid cavalry, the prince of Tarentum and the count of Thoulouse proceeded to the encounter, which took place in a defile where individual bravery could not be oppressed by numbers. The attack was commenced by the Turks, but the Christians received them with couched lances, and their phalanx

of the Crusaders over the Turks, and sent ambassadors to the Christians, urging them to continue the siege of Antioch, and even offering them assistance. De Guignes seems to have preferred this narrative of the Archbishop; for he tells the same tale, though he has not put any authority in his margin, and has not even noticed the other account.

* Raimond, 146.

CHAP. V.

phalanx was impenetrable. The Moslems retreated, and the Latins pursued them with destruction. Two thousand of the Turks fell in this battle; their heads were cut off by their ferocious foes; some of which trophies of victory were sent with savage exultation to the Egyptian legates, and others were fixed on stakes round the camp, or shot into the town, in return for the perpetual insults and mockery of the people of Antioch.*

7th Feb. 1098.

Five months had elapsed since the commencement of the siege, and various were the calamities which the brave Crusaders had survived. They now refortified the outworks of their camp, and their storehouses were replenished by succours from Italy. While Europe was agitated with rage and indignation against Asia, the republic of Venice carried on her trade with the Muselmans, unmindful of religious distinctions. † Pisa and Genoa, her rivals

March.

The Croises aided by Pisa and Genoa.

* Baldric, 105. Albert, 237. Guibert, 504. Archb. of Tyre, 697-8.

† Even so early as the time of Charlemagne, the Venetians used to buy slaves and sell them to the Saracens in Spain and Sicily. Pope Zachary, about the year 747, prohibited the purchase of Christian slaves in Rome, and the sale of them to the Moslems in Africa. A little more than a century afterwards the public authority of Venice forbad the traffic of Christian slaves. The Venetians used to sell arms to

CHAP. V. rivals in commerce, took a part apparently more generous, and sent a large succour of men and provisions to their brethren at Antioch. The vessels arrived at the mouth of the Orontes; the joyful news was soon communicated to the camp; crowds of voracious pilgrims ran to the coast, and Bohemond and Raymond also proceeded thither, with some regular bands of troops. The Turks, ever on the watch for occasions of hostility, prepared an ambuscade of four thousand men, by whom the escort on its return was attacked in a defile. The Christian soldiers were encumbered by hundreds of the rabble, carrying provisions and implements of war. The Moslems were inflamed by the prospect of booty, and their scimitars mowed down their unprepared enemies. The prince of Tarentum took flight, and spread the news in his camp. Godfrey roused his fellow princes to revenge the death of their brethren. With the two Roberts, Hugh, and other chiefs, he marched to their succour; but before he reached the fatal

to the infidels, until the emperors Basil and Constantine, towards the close of the tenth century, made the republic put a stop to such transactions. Marin, Storia civile et politica del commerzio de' Veneziani, tom. i. p. 206. tom. ii. p. 55, cited in Heeren, Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades. Muratori, Antiquitates Med. Ævi. Diss. xxx. vol. ii. p. 883.

fatal passage, he was met by Raymond, who had lost many of his bravest men. Baghasian put all his troops in motion; but the duke of Lorraine returned and took possessiou of an eminence near the city, and slew or compelled all those who appeared to return to the shelter of their walls: and those troops who had so lately defeated Raymond, had no hopes of safety but in a second victory. The women of Antioch lined the ramparts; they were vociferous in their exhortations to their husbands to fight; and the Christians pretended to distinguish the sincere shouts of the Turkish wives from the artificial cries of the female Greeks and Armenians. But Baghasian had ill measured the strength and valour of the combatants; and he re-opened the gates for the preservation of the fugitives. The historians of the battle command us to believe, that if all the Christian soldiers had fought with the heroic valour of the dukes of Lorraine and Normandy (of whom stupendous feats are related), few of the Turks would have escaped the edge of their faulchions. Godfrey cut one of his foes through the middle. The upper part of the body fell to the ground; but so firmly did the miscreant sit, that the lower members remained on the saddle, and the affrighted horse gallopped into the

Prowess of the Latin chiefs.

 town.

CHAP. V. town.* Another wretched Moslem he smote asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword; and the weapon not only performed its prescribed duty, but cut entirely through the saddle and the back bone of the horse. The sword of Robert of Normandy cleft the skull of a Saracen from the crown to the shoulders; and seeing one of the parts rolling over the ground, he charitably dismissed it to the powers of hell. Tancred enjoined his squire not to publish his deeds; but we must not let the modesty of the hero diminish our admiration of his courage.† A son of Baghasian, twelve emirs, and two thousand men of common rank fell in this dreadful battle: and if night had not suspended the victorious

* Tasso ascribes a feat, similar in most respects, to the fierce and fair Camilla.

> E tra'l collo, e la nuca il colpo assesta:
> E tronchi i nervi, e'l gorgozzuol reciso,
> Gío rotando a cader prima la testa.
> Prima bruttò di polve immonda il viso,
> Che giù cadesse il tronco: il tronco resta
> (Miserabile mostro!) in sella assiso.
> Ma libero del fren con mille rote
> Calcitrando il destrier da se lo scuote.
>
> La Gerusalemme Liber. c. ix. 70.

† Sed est, quod stupeam, nec satis valeam stupere: cum homo tam pretiosus laudis emptor mox præsentis ora armigeri silentio concluserit adjurato. Rad. Cad.

rious heroes' ferocity, Antioch would have fallen. The spoil reconciled the Christians to the disasters which they had experienced. On the earliest dawn of the ensuing day the Turks quitted the city, collected the dead bodies of their friends, and buried them in the common place of interment without the walls. Familiarity with scenes of horror had extinguished every feeling of humanity: the Christians dragged the corpses from the sepulchre, and despoiled them of their dresses and ornaments. They severed the heads from the trunks; and fifteen hundred of them were exposed on pikes to the weeping Turks; and some were sent to the caliph of Egypt in proof of victory.*

Inhumanity of the Latins.

The

* Baldric, 106, 107. Raimond, 147. Albert, 237. Guibert, 505, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 699, 701. Tudebodus, 790. Ralph de Diceto, p. 493. M. Paris, p. 29, 30, and De Guignes, ii. 89, 90; where Arabic historians, however, add little to the accounts of the Latins. Malmsbury, p. 448, recites the acts of personal prowess of Godfrey, and gives us another story (on the testimony of an eye-witness) of that renowned chieftain fighting with and destroying a lion near Antioch. The man who told Malmsbury this story, though he saw the action, should have doubted the evidence of his senses. Such of the Christians (about one thousand) as were slain threw aside their coats of mail, put on the white robe of martyrs, and went to heaven glorifying God; but saying also to infinite majesty, "Quare non defendis sanguinem "nostrum, qui hodie pro tuo nomine effusus est?" Gesta Francorum,

CHAP. V.

The loathsome consequences of battle formed no impediment to the display of other horrors of war. The savage warriors before Antioch broke Turkish sepulchres into pieces, and erected a fortress near the gate of the bridge, from the ruins of the mansions of the dead; emulating the hill of bones before Nice, which had been converted into a tower of hostility. The count of Tholouse accepted the dangerous, and therefore honourable, office of guarding it; and this exhibition of bravery silenced a thousand calumnies of feigned sickness which the soldiers had spread against him. His coldness and severity of temper made him unpopular; but he was no longer branded with the charge of avarice, when he gave to Adhemar and some other

Francorum, p. 13. The reader must already have recollected and coincided in the opinion of Lord Bacon, that, "it were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such "an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, "the other is contumely; and certainly superstition is the "reproach of the Deity." Essay 17.

> Better be dumb than superstitious:
> Who violates the Godhead, is most vicious
> Against the nature he would worship: He
> Will honour'd be in all simplicity,
> Have all his actions wonder'd at, and view'd
> With silence and amazement; not with rude,
> Dull and profane, weak and imperfect eyes,
> Have busy search made in his mysteries.
>
> Ben Jonson.

other chiefs five hundred marks of silver, to be distributed among such of their soldiers as had lost their horses in the conflict.* The late successes gave courage to the councils of the princes; and they resolved that the gate of St. George on the west, between the mountain and the Orontes, should be blockaded. The coffers of Raymond again were opened, the works were raised, and Tancred accepted the post of honour. The army found that the firmness of the young warrior was equal to his bravery; that he was as vigilant in defence, as prompt in attack. Indeed† the Turks were now completely shut up, and unable to obtain provisions or wood, or other necessaries. They had been usually supplied by the Armenians and Syrians from the mountains; but Tancred intercepted the succours of corn, wine, and oil, and turned them to the benefit of the Christian camp.‡ The country round Antioch was in possession of the besiegers; and as the season of spring was returned, communications were opened with distant countries. By gifts proportioned to their various stations, Baldwin, lord of Edessa, conciliated his fellow crusaders, who had often breathed

* Raimond, 147. Archb. of Tyre, 701, 702. Baldric, 107.

† Guibert, 506. Archb. of Tyre, 702.

‡ Gesta, 14. Mus. Ital. i. 171, 175.

CHAP. V. breathed indignation at his infidelity to the sacred cause, and had repined at his comparative prosperity and ease. An Armenian prince, whose territories adjoined those of Baldwin, sent a magnificent tent as an offering of friendship to the duke of Lorraine. But Pancrates, who was always anxious for revenge against Baldwin and his friends, captured the present, and sent it as his own gift to Bohemond. Prudence should have dictated to Godfrey a dignified indifference on the matter: but with his most intimate companion, Robert of Flanders,* he repaired to the tent of Bohemond, and demanded the present. The avaricious Italian refused to restore it. Godfrey laid his complaint before the council; and a piece of silk excited the passions of thousands of men who had despised all worldly regards, and had left Europe in order to die in Asia. The justice of Godfrey's claim was apparent, and could not but be acknowledged. Bohemond listened to the general opinion, delivered the tent to the duke, and peace was restored.†

The prosperity of the Christians was checked by the news of the preparations which the sultan of Persia was making for the relief of the besieged.

* Robert of Flanders was always the fidius Achates of Godfrey.

† Albert, 242.

besieged. The alarm among the Crusaders increased as the rumour spread, and importance was given to popular fear, by the retreat of Stephen, count of Chartres, who pleaded illness and the salubrity of Alexandretta. But the people attributed his retirement to any other cause rather than that of corporal infirmity. He took with him four thousand men. This great secession roused the princes to the enactment of new laws for the prevention of desertion, and for the enforcement of discipline : and accordingly he who retired without the leave of the council was to be treated as an homicide, and as one who had committed sacrilege.* The report of aid from Persia animated the besieged into new acts of treachery. They felt the miseries of war, and they solicited a truce, in order, as they said, to arrange the conditions which should accompany the cession of the place. It was agreed, then, that the horrors of the sword should be stayed, and the mutual promises were ratified by religious sanctions. The city's gates were opened, and there was a free and familiar communication between the various people. The concluding day of the truce arrived, and no offers of capitulation were made by the Turks. On the contrary, they violated their

Retreat of the count of Chartres.

* Archb. of Tyre, 703.

CHAP. V.

their oath, and seized as a prisoner the person of Walo, a noble cavalier, who had like many of his comrades been wandering in the groves of Antioch. The armed dogs, as an indignant observer calls the Moslems, tortured the Christian, and tore his body to pieces.*

Antioch taken by stratagem.

The Latins recommenced the siege with indignation and fury, and the defence became every day more feeble. But when it was least needed, stratagem was called in to the aid of valour. Near the gate of St. George were three towers, which were guarded by three brothers of a noble Armenian tribe, and it was not considered that any dignity was lost, when their family took the occupation and name of Beni Zerri, or the sons of armour-makers.† At the time of the siege of Antioch, Phirouz was the head of the race. He was a man of a low and sordid disposition. He made religion subservient to his passions, and, deserting the faith of his family, he united with the Muselmans. His abilities procured him the favour of Baghasian, and he was entrusted with military and civil charges. There was an affinity between the characters of Bohemond and Phirouz, and in various periods of the siege the accidents of war brought

*Robert, 52, 53.

† Arch. of Tyre, 704. Albert, 244. Tudebodus, 792.

brought the Italian and the Armenian into intercourse. The magnificent promises of the former seduced the latter from his allegiance, and it was stipulated that the towers should be delivered to the Christians.* Bohemond found that Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts would accept the cession of Antioch upon any terms; but the count of Tholouse was as ambitious as the prince of Tarentum, and suspected sinister motives in all his actions. In a general council, then, Bohemond declared the necessity of a change of measures for the capture of Antioch. For seven months the army had suffered every human misery. Blood had been shed, famine had devastated the crusading ranks, and Antioch still remained in the hands of the enemy. The hosts of Persia were approaching, and would compel the Franks to raise the siege. As bravery had been unsuccessful, it was politic to resort to other means to get possession of the city before the arrival of the Persians: and as an incitement to the enterprises of the chiefs, the principality of Antioch ought to be the reward of skill and wisdom. The count of Tholouse

* Robert and Fulcher, as if ashamed that Antioch should be taken by stratagem, assert that Jesus Christ appeared repeatedly to Phirouz in dreams, and exhorted him to deliver up the city to the Christian army.

louse was the only prince who refused his assent to this proposition.* He speciously declared that all the Crusaders were brothers and equals, and that the fruits, as well as the dangers of war, should be in common. The news of the approach of the Persian succour became every day more alarming, and policy could only suggest that the city should be immediately taken, or that a large part of the army should repel the menacing foe. The council again was summoned, the united assent of the duke of Lorraine, the count of Vermandois, and the two Roberts, overbore the opposition of the selfish Provençal; and it was resolved that no sentiments were so worthy of being adopted as those of the prince of Tarentum. Jerusalem, and the holy land, were the places for which the Croises had left Europe; and it would be dishonourable to the crusading cause, if the army should perish for want of generosity to an individual. Bohemond then revealed his friendship with Phirouz, and the offer of the renegado to deliver to him the city. The princes promised to their brother chieftain that Antioch, in the event of the conquest of it, should be his prize;

* This is William of Tyre's account, 705. Baldric and Tudebodus state that the proposition was refused by all, p. 109, 792. To this account Guibert inclines, p. 509.

prize; but the gift was fettered by the condition that if the emperor Alexius should come to the succour of the Christians, Bohemond must acknowledge his feudal superiority.*

By the medium of a son of Phirouz, who was a Turkish spy in the Christian camp, the plot for the completion of the treachery was settled. The cause of the rumour cannot be discovered, but it soon was believed in Antioch that a plan was in action for delivering the city to the Christians. The remnants of the Greeks and Armenians had always been objects of apprehension to Baghasian; their motions were regarded with suspicion, and the Turkish council resolved that shortly all the tributaries should be put to death, if the Persian succour did not arrive. Baghasian was unlimited in his confifidence to Phirouz, and the courtiers were jealous of the influence of the renegado. They uttered their suspicions of his loyalty, and he

 was

* Robert, 54. Baldric, 108. Guibert, 509—10. William of Tyre, 705—7. It appears from Rad. Cad. 309, that Bohemond sent Tancred and his troops away from Antioch at the time of these proceedings, and that Tancred did not know of them till Antioch was taken. Tancred was highly indignant, and declaimed strongly against Bohemond's jealous and selfish temper. Baldric says that Tancred knew all: but Baldric's authority in a case of this nature cannot be put in opposition to that of Tancred's biographer.

CHAP. V. was summoned to their presence. Before they could charge him with treachery he rose in the character of a brother senator, and professed himself a friend to any measures of precaution that might be adopted. He thought that the guards of the towers should be changed, and by that measure all secret intercourse between the besiegers and the besieged would be cut off. Advice so judicious, so apparently patriotic, checked the suggestions of calumny, and Baghasian and his council declared their concurrence. The next morning was the time appointed for the change of guard, but in the interval the work of treason was to be executed. In the repose and silence of the night, Bohemond with his troops advanced close to the walls. He sent a trusty friend to watch the signs of Phirouz. The renegado and the soldier were conversing, while the officer on watch passed the tower. The soldier retired, Phirouz presented himself, and received from the officer warm commendations for strict attention to duty. The Christian returned to his comrades with the news that the plot was ripe for execution. The traitor lowered some ropes. But neither threats nor entreaties could instigate the Latins to enter on this novel and hazardous enterprise, and at length Bohemond himself mounted the walls. No one followed

3 June, 1098.

lowed him, and he was compelled to return to his troops, in despair of the success of his undertaking. His re-appearance dissipated the panic; and all the Croises were now anxious for the escalade. In their impatience the ladder broke, and only sixty soldiers reached the ramparts. But these men prepared the way for their friends with dreadful effect. They seized ten towers, and slew the guards. A postern was then opened, and the whole army entered the city with all the ferocity of triumphant religious zealots, and the insolence which fills the mind when an obstinate resistance has been overcome. The banner of Bohemond was hoisted on a principal eminence; the trumpets brayed the triumph of the Christians; and with the affirmation, "Deus id vult!" they commenced their butchery of the sleeping inhabitants. For some time the Greeks and Armenians were equally exposed * with the Muselmans: but when a pause was given to murder, and the Christians became distinguished

The Croises massacre the inhabitants.

* "The Christians issuing in, and exasperated with the "length of the siege, so remembered what they had suf- "fered, that they forgot what they had to do, killing pro- "miscuously Christian citizens with Turks. Thus passions, "like heavy bodies down steep hills, once in motion, move "themselves, and know no ground but the bottom." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 17.

CHAP. V. guished from the infidels, a mark was put on the dwellings of the former; and their edifices were regarded as sacred. The dignity of age, the helplessness of youth, and the beauty of the weaker sex, were disregarded by the Latin savages. Houses were no sanctuaries; and the sight of a mosque added new virulence to cruelty. If the fortune of any Moslem guided him safely through the streets, the country without the walls afforded no retreat, for the plains were scoured by the Franks. The citadel alone was neglected by the conquerors; and in that place many of their foes secured themselves before the idea was entertained of the importance of subjugating it. The number of Turks massacred on this night was at least ten thousand. The fate of Baghasian was melancholy and unmerited. He escaped with a few friends through the Crusaders' camp, and reached the mountains. Fatigue, disappointment, and the loss of blood from the opening of an old wound, caused a giddiness in his head, and he fell from his horse. His attendants raised him; but he was helpless, and again became stretched on the ground. They fancied, or heard the approach of the enemy; and, as in moments of extremity the primary law of nature is paramount, they left their master to his fate. His groans caught the ear of a Syrian Christian in the

the forest, and he advanced to the poor old man. The appeal to humanity was made in vain; and the wretch struck off the head of his prostrate foe, and carried it in triumph to the Franks.*

The attendants and followers of the camp pillaged the houses of Antioch as soon as the gates had been thrown open; but the soldiers did not for a while suffer their rapacity to check their thirst for blood. When, however, every species of habitation, from the marble palace to the meanest hovel, had been converted into a scene of slaughter, when the narrow streets and the spacious squares were all alike disfigured with human gore, and crowded with mangled carcasses, then the assassins turned robbers, and became as mercenary as they had been merciless. The city was rich in most of the various luxuries of the east; but her money had been expended in supplying the inhabitants with provisions during the siege. Some stores of

o 3 corn,

* Robert, 55. Baldric, 109—113. Albert, 244—247. Guibert, 510, 511. Archb. of Tyre, 710—712. Rad. Cad. 308. De Guignes, II. 91—93. Malmsbury, 434. Ordericus Vitalis, 737. Tasso makes Phirouz die before Jerusalem. But in truth he survived the siege, returned to Antioch, and drew to his party many disaffected Christians. He betrayed them however to the Muselmans; he abjured Christianity; and died as a robber.

CHAP. V.

corn, wine and oil, had not been exhausted; and the Crusaders, changing their fierceness for the more civilized vices of debauchery and hypocrisy, ate and drank, rendering thanks to God. The discipline of the camp was relaxed; unbounded license was given to the passions; and, in the midst of the general profligacy, the miracles which Heaven had wrought for its people were forgotten, and its judgments were despised.*

The Persians attack the Croises.

The new citizens were called to war a very few days after they had achieved their conquest. The defeat of the sultan of Nice, and the devastation of the Turkish countries, had filled the oriental courts with surprise and alarm. The emperor of Persia summoned all his hosts to scourge the enemies of the Prophet; and the people, in every degree of subjection to him, formed under the banners of religion. His minister and greatest officer, Kerboga, emir of Mosul, commanded the levies. Kilidge Arslan collected his broken forces, and joined them; and the united army consisted of, at least, two hundred thousand men.† Fortunately

* Albert, 247. Guibert, 511. Gesta, 567. Rad. Cad. 308.

† Such is the statement of Albert of Aix. Tudebodus (p. 791) numbers the Persians at three hundred and sixty-five

nately for the Crusaders, the wisdom of Kerboga's measures had not been equal to his personal bravery. Treating his foes with orthodox Muselman contempt, he had not foreseen the fall of Antioch. His march was through the principality of Edessa; and he had halted for the purpose of annihilating the power of Baldwin. But three weeks had been devoted in vain to incessant attacks, when intelligence of the fall of the Syrian capital compelled the Persians to cross the Euphrates, and hasten to the relief of their oppressed allies.*

The hosts of the Moslem world pitched their tents round the fallen capital; and reinforced the citadel which their enemies had so inconsiderately neglected.† Still the Turks might have been subdued, and the fortress might have been taken, if the Christians had had only men and walls to contend with. But a few days of luxury had consumed all the provisions which were in the city; and when the Persians appeared, the Crusaders sought in vain to accumulate fresh stores from the devastated vicinity. The

The Latins are blockaded—second famine.

five thousand men: and Ralph of Caen (p. 319) at four hundred thousand.

* Baldric, 111, 112. Albert, 243. Guibert, 302.

† Albert, 248—250. Archb. of Tyre, 714. Du Cange, note on the Alexiad, p. 88. Malmsbury, 434.

The sword was without, and famine was within; and the Moslems too resolved to conquer by starvation, if their scymitars should fail. They took the port of St. Simeon, burned the ships; and by these means, the cities on the shores of the Mediterranean could no longer contribute to the support of the Christians. All the distresses of the Crusaders before the walls were nothing, when compared with the horrors they suffered now that they were in possession of the city. So long as there was any food for the horses, the blood of these animals was drank, and then their flesh was devoured. Vegetables the most nauseous were greedily eaten; they boiled the leaves of trees; the skins of animals, and even the leather of the military accoutrements were stewed for food. Nothing, indeed, was so foul and insipid in itself, but that famine rendered it palatable. Misery levelled all natural as well as artificial distinctions. The courage of the warrior, the pride of the nobleman, the dignified virtue of the matron, and the retired bashfulness of the virgin, all were reduced to the level of the ignoble and the vicious, by the cravings of unsatisfied and increasing hunger. The people begged and clamoured for food. All ranks felt the distress alike; and even Godfrey was at last left without horses or money.

money.* According to one writer, however, the poor wretches did not cease to cry, "Not "unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be the "praise!" or to reflect without pleasure, that the Lord chastens every son whom he receives.† Resignation was perhaps the virtue of some; but all the army had not the courage of martyrs; and their minds were only kept from the horrors of despair by the faint hope that they might ere long be relieved by some new battalions of Crusaders. A great many soldiers escaped over the walls. Among those whose names have been preserved, were William and Alberic of Grantmenil; the former of whom had married a sister of Bohemond; and as the latter was both an ecclesiastic and a soldier, he was attached to the holy cause from a double motive. William the carpenter disregarded the oath which he had taken in the presence of all the army and fled. A few obscure names are mentioned; and the indignant archbishop of Tyre exclaims, that he remembers not the rest; for as their names are

More desertions.

* Robert, 59. Baldric, 117. Raimond, 153. Guibert, 518. Archb. of Tyre, 715–717.

† Baldric, 117. Tudeb. 798. Alexiad, p. 88, note. De Guignes, livre 13.

CHAP. V. are struck out of the holy volume of life, they cannot be inserted in his book.*

The fugitives, foiled in their hope of escaping in a vessel at the port of St. Simeon, took the road to Alexandretta; and after a series of dangers, not much less calamitous than those which they had fled from, they joined the count of Chartres. Their miserable appearance spoke too well the state of the Latins before Antioch, and lest they should be thought deserters on frivolous causes, they exaggerated the afflictions of their brethren. The seal appeared now to be set on the desperation of the crusade, and Stephen, therefore, commenced his retreat to Europe. At Philomelia, in Phrygia, he met the emperor of Constantinople, who was advancing in order to enjoy the anticipated conquests of the Latins; or, as his daughter declares, to aid his feudal subjects in the siege of Antioch. Fresh parties of European Crusaders had shortly before

* Tudebodus, 799. Baldric, 117. Albert, 251. Archb. of Tyre, 717. "Alii multi quorum nomina non tenemus; "quia deleta de libro vitæ, præsenti operi non sunt in-"serenda." The fugitives let themselves over Antioch by means of ropes. Baldric tells us that their hands were dreadfully excoriated; not an unlikely circumstance; and the knowledge of it must have been grateful to their indignant, and perhaps envious brethren, who also amused themselves with calling them the rope-dancers.

before that time arrived at the Bosphorus, and had mixed themselves with the well appointed army of Alexius. The stories of the fugitives had the same effect on the imperial mind as on that of Stephen. The first and great object of policy was to preserve the empire in its present condition, and not to waste its resources in distant expeditions. Yet the emperor's army was numerous, and if he had been a brave prince, he would have aided the Latins in dissipating the clouds of Tartars. But prudence or fear predominated; gratitude never whispered that the Crusaders should be requited for the conquest of Nice, and the return to Constantinople was ordered. The tears of emulation, the reproaches, the supplications of Guy, a brother of Bohemond, were all without effect, and the youthful warrior could not even obtain permission for himself and his friends to proceed to Antioch. All the European champions of the cross were compelled to march in the emperor's ranks. Their fury against him soon turned into execrations against heaven. Humility and resignation are no qualities of fanaticism. That disease springs as often from pride as from warmth of imagination, and its votaries fancy themselves not so much the agents as the supporters of Providence. They rise to an equality with God, and when his measures accord not with

Alexius abandons his allies.

Impiety of some new Croises.

CHAP. V.

with their ideas, they blaspheme and revolt from their duty. For the first three days of their return, the bishops, abbots and presbyters, abstained from the usual prayers and spiritual exercises: and the feelings which they shewed in sullenness and murmurs, the common people expressed in open indignation. It was impiously said, no man will henceforth become the pilgrim or soldier of God. If heaven be omnipotent, why does it consent to these things? *

Direful effects of Alexius's retreat.

The news of the approach of Alexius had preserved the courage of his allies in Antioch; but when his cowardice was heard of, they consigned him and his army to everlasting infamy, not only on account of their infidelity to obligations, but because they defrauded the people of the cross of those succours which God had provided. Heaven was implored that the Greeks might have their portion of eternal torments with the great betrayer Judas. Despondency weighed down some of the bravest minds, and if Godfrey, Raymond and Adhemar, had not displayed heroic firmness, the soldiers would have been abandoned, and many of the chiefs would have endeavoured to escape by sea to Europe.

* Tudebodus, 799. Robert, 60. Baldric, 118, 119. Albert, 253. Archb. of Tyre, 718, 720. Alexiad, p. 256-7, and Du Cange's notes.

Europe. The common men sunk into melancholy and despair. Neither supplications nor severity could induce them to remain at their posts, and they shut themselves up in their habitations. Bohemond set fire to the houses, the soldiers ran to their quarters, and a military appearance was resumed. Two thousand private dwellings and churches were destroyed in this dreadful experiment. The flames spread with uncontrollable rapidity, and Bohemond apprehended that the seat of his principality would be ruined : or, as some of the early writers state, lest the church of St. Peter and St. Mary should be visited with the same desolation.*

The Christians saved by some superstitious frauds.

Though the fire had driven the soldiers to their posts, violence could give no spirit to attenuated bodies or despairing minds. The ruin of the hopes of Christendom appeared inevitable, and no man could anticipate the recovery of the sacred places. Both valour and stratagem had done their best. One resource, more powerful than all the others, yet remained to be tried, and that resource was superstition. A Lombard clerk

* Tudebodus, 798. Gesta, 19. Albert, 253. Guibert, 517. William of Tyre, 720. The biographer of Tancred deplores, in his usual bombastic style, the destruction of the palaces, &c. and it is curious to remark, that he describes the iron-work of them to have come from England.

CHAP. V. clerk preached to the clergy and laity, the noble and ignoble, and endeavoured to dissipate their fears. He said that he remembered a pious priest in Italy, who, journeying to perform mass before his diocesan, was encountered by a pilgrim, who, anxiously inquired his opinion on the subject of so many princes and nations going in holy company to the sepulchre at Jerusalem. He replied, "some people think that the design "has been inspired by God himself: others, "that the action springs entirely from the levity "of the French character; and that the misfor-"tunes in Hungary and Bulgaria are judgments "on them for their want of piety. For my "part, I cannot decide between the conflicting "sentiments." The pilgrim rejoined, "this "expedition does not spring from the levity of "the French people, but it has God for its "author. The names of those are recorded in "heaven as martyrs, who banish themselves "from Europe in the name of Christ, and who "lead a sober and religious life." The presbyter demanded the family and fortunes of the man who spoke with so much decision. "Know "then," he replied, "I am Ambrose, bishop "of Milan, servant of Christ: and in three "years the soldiers of the Lord, after having "conquered various nations of barbarians, and "suffered many labours, shall enter Jerusalem

"in

"in triumph." The story of the Lombard clerk was received with credulity, both by the chiefs and by the ignorant populace, and served better than a philosophical treatise on resignation, to preserve their patience.* Before the effects of this tale had worn away, another priest swore on the gospels, that while he was at prayers, Jesus Christ, accompanied by his mother and St. Peter, appeared to him, and said, "Knowest thou me?" The priest answered, "No." A cross was then displayed on the head of the Saviour, and the astonished priest acknowledged his Lord. The son of man exclaimed, "I made you masters of Nice, I opened to you "the gates of Antioch: and in return for these "benefits, you have lost your religious name in "infamous debaucheries with Pagan women."† At these words the holy virgin and St. Peter threw themselves at the feet of Jesus, and besought him to have mercy on his votaries. He then said to Peter, "Go, tell my people, that "if they will return to me, I will turn to them; "and

* Albert, 252.

† Strange morality, indeed, as Mr. Ellis observes, is ascribed to the Supreme Being, who declares himself offended, not by the unnecessary cruelties of the crusaders, not by the general profligacy of their manners, so much as by the reflection, that Paynim women were partners of their amours. Specimens of the Early English Poets, i. 99.

CHAP. V. "and in five days will give them the help which "they want." The presbyter offered to verify his story by a fiery ordeal, but as the merit of faith rises in proportion to the weakness of testimony, the bishop of Puy required merely a simple oath. Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Hugh, and the two Roberts, swore that they would never desert each other, or fly from the sacred cause; and Tancred shewed his fanaticism or courage in the expression, that he would not abandon the siege of the citadel, or the journey to Jerusalem, so long as sixty soldiers were in his train.* The succours of heaven were not withheld from any want of devotion in the people. The temples were crowded, and the streets resounded with psalms and hymns. A priest and a secular man were arrested in their flight; the one by his brother's ghost, the other by Jesus Christ himself. Heavenly promises were mixed with reproaches, and the spectre of the mortal man declared, that the disembodied souls of the slain Christians would assist their friends in the day of battle.† When superstition was at its height, a Provençal or Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, assured the chiefs that St. Andrew had appeared to him in a vision, had carried him through the air

* Robert, 60 Guibert, 516, 617.

† Fulcher, 392, 3. Baldric, 119. Gesta, 568.

air to the church of St. Peter, and had shewn him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. The saint commanded him to tell the army, that that weapon would ward off all attacks of the enemy, and that the count of Tholouse should support it. He had not at first obeyed the commands of the saint, for he dreaded the charges of fraud and imposture: but at last the threats of heavenly vengeance had overcome his modesty, and he resolved to communicate the important secret. Expressions of joy and thankfulness from the chiefs rewarded the holy man, and superstition or policy bowed conviction to the tale.*

 Raymond,

* As the count of Tholouse was the foremost in the affair of the lance, to him must be ascribed the honour of inventing the tale. His chaplain narrates it with the same air of conviction as he details historical truths. The two archbishops, Baldric and William, appear to have had no suspicion of fraud. Ralph of Caen (p. 316, 317) affirms that Bohemond, the two Roberts, Tancred, and Arnold, the duke of Normandy's chaplain, discovered the trick, and that the prince of Tarentum delivered their opinions to the council, and put some searching questions to Raymond, on the history of the lance from the days of Pilate to that time. Fulcher's statement in Du Chesne, p. 828, exonerates the bishop of Puy from all share in the imposition: it appears he told Raymond it could not be the true lance. Yet Fulcher goes on to say, that when the lance was found, the heretics were convinced. Fuller's remark on the subject of the lance is an excellent one. "But let us know that heaven hath a "pillory

CHAP. V.

Raymond, his chaplain, and ten other men, were appointed to fetch the precious relic from its repository. After two days devotion to holy exercises, all the Croises marched in religious order to the church of St. Peter, and the chosen twelve entered the walls. During a whole day, the people waited with awful anxiety for the production of their sacred defence. The workmen dug in vain, their places were relieved by fresh and ardent labourers, and, like their predecessors, they gave up the cause. When, however, the night came on, and the obscurity of nature was favourable to mysteriousness, Peter Barthelemy descended into the pit, and after searching a decent time, he cried aloud that the lance was found. The chaplain of Raymond seized and embraced the relic: the people rushed into the church, incredulity was banished, and the astonished multitude blamed each other for the previous weakness of their faith.*

In a moment twenty-six days of misery were forgotten. Hope succeeded to despair, courage to cowardice. Fanaticism renewed its dominion,

" pillory whereon Fraus pia herself shall be punished; and " rather let us leave religion to her native plainness, than " hang her ears with counterfeit pearls."

* Baldric, 119. Albert, 254. Raimond, 150, 1. Fulcher, 391. William of Tyre, 721.

nion, and it was resolved that the sacred lance should pierce the hearts of their enemies, if the Turks would not depart in peace.* Peter the Hermit, accompanied by an interpreter, was sent on this expedition of mercy. The sultan received him with all the splendour of oriental magnificence,† but the fanatic was undaunted, and indeed so contemptuous was his demeanor, that his character of ambassador alone preserved his life. His language was as haughty as his manner. The Turks must immediately quit a country, which, by the beneficence of St. Peter, belonged to the faithful. God befriended the Croises, and he would punish those who infringed the rights of his people. If the Moslems would acknowledge the divine will, they might retire to their country with their baggage and goods; and if they would abjure their false religion, they might become the brethren of the Christians by baptism, and even Antioch and its territory should be theirs. But if they persisted in their iniquity and infidelity, the swords of

Embassy of the Hermit to the Persians.

* Anna, confounding Christian names, makes Peter the Hermit the finder of the relic: and, fancying that the lance was at Constantinople, she supposes that the thing which was found was one of the nails which pierced the Saviour on the cross. Alexiad, 258, 259. Du Cange's notes.

† Malmsbury says (345) that Kerboga was playing at chess, and did not let the game stop.

CHAP. V.

of the Franks would convince them on whose side justice and heaven stood. Astonishment at the effrontery of Peter possessed all the auditors, and a storm of rage broke from the Persian general. "We despise and abhor the "idolatry of your religion. But if you will "acknowledge that there is only one God, and "that Muhammed is his prophet, we will feed "and clothe your wretched bodies. If, how-"ever, you dare to propose conditions to con-"querors, we will with our swords humble "the pride of your nation. Slavery and death "is the appointed lot of those who dispute the "right of the Turks to a land which they had "taken from the effeminate Greeks." The companion of the Hermit continued the discourse, and still further inflamed the mind of Kerboga. The ministers of the Croises were contemptuously dismissed, and the menacing fierceness of their foe urged them to make a speedy return to the camp.*

Prudence of Godfrey.

The soldiers as well as the chiefs crowded around Peter when he rejoined them, and anxiously inquired whether their fate were peace or war. The Hermit told his tale, and began to be eloquent in his description of the pride and power

* Robert, 62. Baldric, 118. Guibert, 520. Archb. of Tyre, 721, 722. Tudebodus, 800.

power of the Persians, but the prudent Godfrey, dreading the contagion of the terrors of the ambassador, drew him to his tent, and heard the details in private. Indignation at the contumely of the Moslems spread through the city, and the soldiers prepared to chastise the enemies of God. They polished their shields and sharpened their swords. What few provisions they had left, they freely gave to each other: and their horses (only two hundred) were allowed a double portion of provender. Temporal cares did not possess them wholly. They sung hymns, they prayed, made religious processions, confessed one to another, and, in receiving the sacrament of the holy supper, they felt their anger kindled against the impious despisers of the efficacy of the death of Christ. The clergy were seen in every church, and among each band of soldiers, promising forgiveness of sins to those who fought bravely. The leaders of the army, the bishops, and particularly the pious Adhemar, poured not their blessings only, but largesses of money and provisions; and now the people who had seemed just before pale, wan, and spirit-broken, appeared with a bold and martial front, anticipating nothing but victory. Religion had changed all. Every one felt that he was the man of God, and that, as-

Preparations for battle.

 sisted

CHAP. V.

sisted by the lance of his Saviour, he should discomfit his foes.*

Battle of Antioch, 28 June, 1098.

The next day was the day of battle, and the religious courage of the army was animated by the circumstance that it was the festival of the church for St. Peter and St. Paul. All the troops, except the count of Tholouse, and a few of his Provençals who were left to watch the citadel, quitted Antioch, and formed in battle array on the plain before the city. The van was preceded by the priests and monks with crucifixes in their hands, praying aloud for the protection of heaven, and exclaiming in the language of the Psalmist, "Be thou a tower "of defence to those who put their trust in "thee." Every event was turned into a favourable omen, and even the morning dew scented with the perfume of roses was supposed to be a special favour from heaven. The army marched in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles. To Hugh count of Vermandois, as the bearer of the papal standard, was assigned the distinction of leading the van. Robert of Flanders commanded the second division; Robert of Normandy, and his noble kinsman, Stephen, earl of Albemarle, the third. The bishop of Puy led the fourth, and this division

* Archb. of Tyre, 722, 3. Guibert, 321. Albert, 255.

division was the most honourable of the twelve, for it carried the head of the sacred lance. The fifth, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh divisions were conducted by brave and celebrated generals; the seventh and eighth were led by Godfrey and Tancred; and the division of reserve was under the command of Bohemond. The bishop of Puy, clothed in armour, and bearing the lance in his right hand, advanced from the ranks, and exhorted the champions of the cross to fight that day as brothers in Christ, as the sons of God. "Heaven," he continued, "has "pardoned you for your sins, and no misfor-"tune can happen to you. He who dies here "will live hereafter, because he seeks eternal "glory. Be brave of heart, for the Lord will "send to you legions of saints. Go then "against your enemies, who are more prepared "for flight than for combat; go in the name of "the Lord Jesus Christ to battle, and the Lord "God Almighty will be with you." The army shouted their approbation and assent. They then pressed forwards to the plain on the other side of the Orontes. Two thousand Turks, the guardians of the iron bridge, were annihilated by the three first divisions, and the whole army formed in two lines between the mountains and the river. Hugh was at the right of the line, and Godfrey on the left. Kerboga had expected the

CHAP. V.

Christians as suppliants, and he learnt only by the destruction of his corps of observation, that they marched as warriors. His movements were directed by skill; he bent his attacks against a part only of the enemy, the divisions of Godfrey and Hugh; and the sultan of Nice, after having made a circuitous route, fell upon the rear of Bohemond. The Christians opposed no stratagem to the manœuvre of the Turks, but the battle was fought man to man, lance to lance. Tancred hung the event in suspense by rescuing the prince of Tarentum; but at last the Franks contended for safety, not for victory, and the Saracenian cavalry was mowing away their ranks. In this perilous moment somé human figures, clad in white armour, and riding on white horses, appeared on the summit of the neighbouring hills, and the people distinguished the martyrs St. George, Maurice, and Theodore.* The superstitious, or politic Adhemar ran through

* As the Crusaders were in their own estimation the soldiers of God, they looked for a portion of that supernatural aid which had often in days of old braced the nerves of the Jews. The idea mentioned in the text appears to have been taken from the case of the Maccabees—" And then it hap-" pened that through the city, for the space of almost forty " days, there were seen horsemen riding in the air, in cloth " of gold, and armed with lances like a band of soldiers " and troops of horsemen in array, encountering and run-" ning

through the ranks, exclaiming, 'behold, soldiers, 'the succour which God has promised you.' The men answered him with the cry, "Deus id vult!" their martial energies revived at this animating shout, and, not waiting for the bright squadron of their celestial allies, they closed their battalions, and bore down upon the Saracens; who terrified at this unexpected vigour, threw away their arms and fled. So closely did the Christians pursue the steps of Kerboga, that the valiant emir could not rally the troops, or save the Turkish women and children from murder, or his camp from spoliation. The booty was so great, that every one of the conquerors became in a moment far richer than when he assumed the cross; and there fell to the share of Bohemond

Victory of the Croises.

" ning one against another, with shaking of shields, and " multitude of pikes, and drawing of swords, and casting of " darts, and glittering of golden ornaments, and harness of " all sorts. Wherefore every man prayed that that apparition might turn to good." Maccabees, book ii. ch. 5. v. 2—4.

As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.

Milton's Paradise Lost, II. 533, &c.

CHAP. V. mond the splendid tent of Kerboga, which, like the one sent by Harun al Raschid to Charlemagne, could (it is said!) contain two thousand men, was divided into streets like a town, and fortified with towers. One thousand five hundred camels were found in the camp, and the cavalry mounted themselves on Arabian horses. The citadel of Antioch followed the fate of the covering army, and surrendered: the chief and three hundred of the garrison embraced Christianity, and remained in the town; the more faithful Moslems were conducted with their arms and equipage into the next Muselman territories. The ambition of the count of Tholouse was the only interruption to the general rejoicing. His banner floated on the walls, when the army re-entered the city in religious procession; but the other chiefs, indignant at his selfishness, supported the prince of Tarentum, in his rights to the full and free possession of his prize.*

After

* Tudebodus, 801 and 2. Gesta, 21, 22. Robert, 63, 66. Baldric, 120, 122. Albert, 255, 258. Raimond, 154, 5. Guibert, 521, 523. Archb. of Tyre, 723, 726. Malmsbury, a writer not remarkable for superstitious credulity, is totally silent on the subject of the lance, but says that in this battle it is not to be denied that the martyrs assisted the Christians, as the angels in old times did the Maccabees. Malms. p. 435. In one of the Crusaders' circular

After the defeat of the Turks, the Christians were not so much occupied by the exultation of success, or the enjoyment of the plunder, as to fail in their care of religion. Superstition had saved the cause of fanaticism; and the priests neglected not their interest or their duty in the moment of victory. The churches were restored to their pristine dignity, and clergy were appointed for the decorous solemnization of religious rites. Those temples which had been turned into mosques, or by superior contempt, into stables, were cleansed of their pollutions. The public spoil furnished gold and silver, materials for crosses, candelabras, and other ornaments of the church. The Greek patriarch was reinstated in his honours; and the Latin clergy professed they would rather serve under him than elect a new superior, and by that means act

cular letters to the princes and people of Europe, the loss of the Turks at the battle of Antioch is fixed at sixty-nine thousand men; and that of the Christians at ten thousand. Not a word is expressive of the deaths by famine and disease; but strong applications are made for men and provisions. Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. i, 568. But in another circular letter preserved in the Thes. Nov. of Martenne (vol. i, p. 281), the princes gloss over their misfortunes at Antioch, by saying that the Christians had only two hundred horses left. The distresses subsequent to the capture are mentioned at length.

CHAP. V. act contrary to the canons of the church, and the example of the saints and fathers.*

* This yielding of power to decorum did not last long, for in two years the Greek patriarch was obliged to retire to Constantinople; and the Latin priests made Bernard, a chaplain of the bishop of Puy, their patriarch. Archbishop of Tyre, 727, &c. Demster says, that the Scotch annals declare this Bernard to have been a Scotchman, who, after the council of Clermont, had preached the Crusade in Scotland, and led his recruits to Antioch. Accolti, p. 175.

CHAP. VI.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

Embassy to Alexius......Desertion of the count of Vermandois......Delay of the Croises at Antioch ......Vices of the Croises......A pestilence...... Death of Adhemar......Letter to the Pope...... Politics of the chiefs......Further delays of the chiefs ......Cannibalism of the Crusaders......The soldiers, but not the leaders, anxious to proceed......The Croises march......Treachery of the count of Tholouse......Discovery of the fraud of the lance...... Politics of the Croises with Alexius and the caliph ......The Crusaders' first view of Jerusalem...... Retrospect......State of the holy city......Invested by the Croises......Horrid drought in the Latin camp......Manners of the Franks......Procession round Jerusalem......The city stormed......and taken......First massacre......Cruelty of Godfrey ......His piety......Second Massacre.

Embassy to Alexius.

WHILE the clergy were reviving Christianity in Antioch, the princes of the Crusade deliberated on the temporal affairs of their cause. Their indignation against the cowardice of the emperor Alexius was yet alive; and they resolved that Hugh, count of Vermandois, and Baldwin,

count

CHAP. VI. count of Hainault, should, in the name of all the holy warriors, censure him for his impiety against God, and his treachery to man. His desultory wavering conduct, and his shrinking from all zealous co-operation with them, had dissolved a connection, of which reciprocal aid formed the basis. The ambassadors directed their course through Asia Minor; but in the neighbourhood of Nice, the count of Hainault fell into Turkish snares; and his friend alone reached Constantinople. Alexius rejoiced at the defeat of the Turks, for they were enemies of all classes of Christians. He heard the narrative of the misery of the Crusaders with equal joy; for in their weakness he contemplated his own security. He derided their threatenings as the ravings of impotence; and their denunciations of heavenly wrath were scorned by an unprincipled usurper The count of Vermandois had not the firm and unyielding courage of the duke of Lorraine: he shrunk from the dangers of repassing Asia Minor; and, as if to justify the Grecian opinion of the versatility and perfidious levity of the Latins, he abandoned his holy cause, and followed the route of the count of Chartres, to France.*

Desertion of the count of Vermandois.

When

* Albert, 260. Archb. of Tyre, 729.

CHAP. VI.

Delay of the Croises at Antioch.

When the ambassadors quitted Antioch, the victorious people were clamorous to proceed immediately to Jerusalem, and accomplish their vow: but the chiefs resolved that popular impatience should be restrained till the month of November. The wounded soldiers required restoration to health, the army repose from its fatigues, before fresh dangers could be encountered. A Syrian summer had already dried most of the springs and fountains round Antioch, and the new deserts which they were to pass could not be anticipated without dread. Three months tranquility were therefore considered necessary; and the chiefs and their soldiers quartered themselves in the city and its neighbourhood.* Bohemond descended into Cilicia, and received the submission of Tharsus, Adana, Mamistra, and Anzarba. The emir of a neighbouring fortress, called Ezaz, implored the succour of the Crusaders against Redouan, sultan of Aleppo. Since the arrival of the Franks many Christian women had been captured by this emir; and he bestowed one of them upon a favourite general, who promised in return to ravage the territories of the Turkish lord. But the forty thousand soldiers of the sultan scattered his feeble bands, and besieged him in his castle.

* Baldrick, 122. William of Tyre, 729.

CHAP. VI.

castle. By the counsel of his friend's wife, the emir implored the alliance and succour of Godfrey. The duke of Lorraine at first alone, then accompanied by Baldwin, prince of Edessa, and finally by the count of Tholouse and the prince of Antioch, repulsed the lord of Aleppo. So quick and unexpected was his retreat, that many unsuspecting Christians about Antioch were made prisoners: but he repented that he had not retired without molesting the enemy, for Godfrey pursued him with dreadful retaliation. Ezaz became a fief of the Latins; and the cruel conquerors not only deprived their allies of independence, but compelled them to supply the waste which had been made of necessaries in the expedition.*

Vices of the Croises.

These external successes were more than balanced by internal calamities. Discord prevailed among the princes; and they even assisted their people in rapine and theft. Public justice did not restrain private injury, and the will of every man was his only law. The heat of the season, the multitude of human carcasses, and the general disorders of the army, bred a pestilential disorder, which spread its ravages with such horrible energy, that in a few months it destroyed

Pestilence.

* De Guignes, ii. 97, 8. Archb. of Tyre, p. 730. Albert, 261, 263.

destroyed more than one hundred thousand persons. A troop of fifteen hundred German cavaliers, high in courage, and completely armed, recently landed at the port of St. Simeon, were cut off in a few days. The Crusaders complained that they had not been led to Jerusalem immediately after the fall of Antioch, when, it was said, the fame of the Christians had been sounded over the east, and their course would have been unmolested. But the commands of God had been disobeyed, and he was now punishing his people for their supineness. Of all the victims of the wide wasting pestilence, none was so deeply lamented as Adhemar of Puy. The people buried their father and protector in the place where the sacred lance had been discovered.* The death of the legate was communicated to the Pope.† The chiefs entreated again and again their spiritual lord, by whose incitement they had taken the cross, to come and complete the work which they had begun.

Death of Adhemar.

Letter of the Croises to the Pope.

 St.

* Baldric, 123. Raimond, 391. Albert, 261. No person could have been more popular than Adhemar. "He "had every virtue under heaven:" and was, besides, eloquent and facetious, and all things to all men. Baldric, 123.

† The letter was written by the chiefs of the first rank, and the order of precedency was Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Eustace.

CHAP. VI.

St. Peter had made Antioch the first city of the Christian name, and it was proper that his successor should sit in his cathedral, restore primitive virtue, and banish all heresies.*

While the messengers were traversing Asia and Europe, the plague continued its ravages at Antioch, and Godfrey, with the Lorrainers, went into the principality of Edessa, and dwelt in Turbessel. He there might have found security and peace, but he was grateful to his brother for his hospitality, and in return made successful war on his Turkish neighbours. The count of Tholouse, in order to keep in action the military qualities of his soldiers, besieged the rich city of Albara, on the eastern bank of the Orontes, two days journey south of Antioch. Albara was carried by assault; and the Christians vented their rage against infidelity, by murdering the Turks, and gratified their orthodoxy by the establishment of a Latin church, and the appointment of a Latin bishop.†

Politics of the chiefs.

The selfishness of Baldwin, and the prudence or cowardice of the counts of Vermandois and Chartres, had broken the unity of council and action of the crusading princes. The ambition of

* Fulcher, 394, 5.
† Archb. of Tyre, 731, 733.

of Bohemond and Raymond was equally injurious to the general interests. The count of Tholouse would not relax in his opposition to the claims of the Italian on the principality of Antioch, but even took forcible possession of the gates of the bridge and the adjacent towers. The altercations between these chiefs became more warm, as the season approached for the departure of the army to Jerusalem. The other commanders interposed; and there were repeated debates on the subject even in the church, and before the altar of St. Peter. The firmness and artifice of Raymond prevailed. Varnishing his selfishness with honour and religion, he pretended, that were he to accord with the ambition of Bohemond, he should violate the spirit of his promise of friendship to the emperor, but that subject to the imperial rights, he would let the cause be determined by Godfrey and the rest when Jerusalem should be taken. He contended that Bohemond ought to accompany them to the sacred city. These reasonable propositions weighed with the judges, and the public voice was in favour of the postponement of decision.*

Further delays of the chiefs.

November arrived; the people, more religious than selfish, were ardent in their wishes for the completion

* Guibert, 525. Tudebobus, 804.

CHAP. VI.

completion of their pilgrimage; the chiefs, however, and even the duke of Lorraine, led them to new wars of ambition, and attempted to surprize the town of Marra.* But their confidence exceeded their prudence, and their attacks were distinguished by vigour rather than skill. Their scaling ladders were too few, and the enemies were expert in destroying their works by enormous stones, and the Greek fire.† The Christians learnt nothing from experience; their sufferings from famine had been the extreme of misery, and yet they sat down to the siege of Marra with no stores of provisions.

Cannibalism of the Croises.

They were soon reduced to their old resources of dogs' flesh and human carcasses. They broke open the tombs of the Muselmans; ripped up the

* Marra was a few miles distant from Albara, or Bira, in the country of Apamea. De Guignes, ii. 98.

† The secret of state, then, had transpired, and it seems that the Turks had discovered the art of making the Greek fire, the most formidable weapon of destruction that was known till the invention of gunpowder. Indeed, in the early part of the tenth century, the Greeks were no longer the only people acquainted with the means of preparing it; for John Cameniata, speaking of the siege of his native city, Thessalonica, which was taken by the Saracens in 904, says, the enemy threw fire into the wooden works of the besieged, which was blown into them by means of tubes, and thrown from other vessels. Beckman's History of Inventions, vol. iv. p. 85.

the bellies of the dead for gold, and then dressed and eat the fragments of flesh. The siege must have been raised, had not Bohemond arrived with new succours; the desperate savages mounted the walls in various places, and the city was taken. Their cruelty could not be appeased by a bloodless conquest: extermination, not clemency, marked their victory. The night checked, but did not close their work of blood, for the next day they used their swords with such industrious ferocity, that the most obscure places of the city were filled with carcasses. Many of the inhabitants were guilty of self-slaughter, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; but the victims both of savageness and of despair were mangled and eaten by their conquerors. Some wealthy citizens had procured a promise of safety from Bohemond, by tempting his avarice, but when streams of blood flowed through the streets, the perfidious chief commanded his prisoners to be brought before him. They who were vigorous or beautiful, were reserved for the slave market at Antioch; but the aged and infirm were immolated at the altar of cruelty.*

 It

* Tudebodus, 806. Robert, 69, 70. Baldric, 125. Albert, 267, 8. Guibert, 527. Archb. of Tyre, 733, 4. Abulfeda, III 317. Abulmahasen in De Guignes, ii. 98. Tudebodus, Robert, Baldric, and Albert mention the facts of the

CHAP. VI.

It was the wish of Raymond that Marra should form a part of the bishoprick of Albara: but Bohemond refused to deliver up such quarters of the town as he had conquered, unless his compeer would resign the gate and the towers which he held at Antioch. These dissentions were odious to the people, because they delayed the general work of the Crusades. The complaint was just, that the strength of the army had been wasted in petty conflicts, in wars of selfishness, and not of religion. Disaffection almost amounted to open rebellion, and the soldiers agreed that they would choose commanders who would immediately lead them to Jerusalem. To prevent tumult, the count of Tholouse promised to march in fifteen days. His rival then appeared to be still more impatient, and returned to his city for the purpose of organizing his forces. The days for departure passed

Soldiers anxious to march to Jerusalem.

the miserly cannibals ripping open dead bodies in expectation of finding gold, and of their eating human flesh. Robert speaks of these things with horror; but Albert drily says, there was nothing surprising in the matter, "for hunger is "sharper than a sword." He was much astonished that they preferred the flesh of dogs to that of Christians and Saracens. Ralph of Caen (p. 315) also mentions the facts with shame and indignation. See too the encyclical letter of Daimbert, Godfrey, and Raymond, in Martenne Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. Ralph de Diceto in Twysden, col. 498. Sigibert, Chron. p. 104, ed. Stephens, and Ekhard, p. 522, in the fifth vol. of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll.

passed, and yet no reconciliation was effected between the contending chiefs. The other princes were slow in acceding to popular wishes, but they disdainfully refused the bribes of Raymond, and his ambitious projects were annihilated by his own soldiers who garrisoned Marra. In his absence they rebelled, and declared that Marra should not, like Antioch, be the occasion of delaying the march. The remonstrances of the family of Raymond, and of the bishop of Albira, were useless, and the fortifications and walls were destroyed. The sick and infirm assisted, and it is reported that so great was the strength which heaven inspired them with in this holy work, that the labour of each individual exceeded the work of three or four oxen. As the count of Tholouse was immoveable by reason and justice, Tancred and some friends went to the gates near the iron bridge of Antioch, and under the language of friendship were admitted. They immediately assumed a military appearance, drew their swords from the concealment of their garments, and slew or drove away the soldiers of the count of Tholouse, and Bohemond became sole lord of the city which his artifice had won.*

 The

* Raimond, 160, 161. Baldric, 126. Archb. of Tyre, 735. Malmsbury, 436. The Pisans never lost sight of commercial

CHAP. VI.

The indignation of Raymond at the destruction of Marra could only vent itself in empty imprecations, for it was the action of the whole people, and could not be punished. He therefore thought it prudent to conciliate his Provençals. The importunities of the people for a vigorous and direct pursuit of hostilities could no longer be resisted, for Marra had been exhausted, and the soldiers made their fell repasts on the bodies of the Saracens which had been buried more than two weeks. Projects of ambition being now useless, Raymond assumed the character of a monk, and marched to Cafarda in company with his Latin clergy, invoking the pity of God, and the assistance of the saints. After a short residence there he collected his troops, and pursued his crusading route. Robert of Normandy attached himself to his cause; but it is singular that Tancred should march with the foe of his kinsman Bohemond. From the ruined country round Marra they proceeded into more fertile lands, and the Turkish emirs, taught at length the impracticability of resistance, sold provisions to and entered into treaties with the Christians. The standard

The Croises march towards Jerusalem.

mercial business: they prevailed on Bohemond to give them a street in Antioch, where they might have their exchange and court of justice, and carry on correspondence with their friends in Italy. Tronchi, p. 35.

standard of Raymond was hoisted on every town for a considerable distance; and that act of possession saved the places from the depredations of subsequent bodies of Crusaders. The fortress of Arca, a few leagues to the north-east of Tripoli, was known to be richly furnished, and Raymond halted on his journey with the intention of making it his prize. Neither an escalade, nor a long siege, accomplished the subjugation, and the name of the count of Tholouse was repeated no more with terror.*

1 March, 1099.

Two months after the departure of Raymond from Marra, Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, with the rest of the army, left Antioch. Bohemond accompanied them as far as Laodicea. He then returned to his principality, and softened the regret and anger which his desertion of the cause occasioned, by largely contributing to the expenses and conveniences of the journey. Laodicea was in possession of the Greeks, but the Crusaders terrified the governor, and he released the pirates whom Baldwin and Tancred had encountered in Cilicia, and who had since fallen into Grecian thraldom. The duke of Lorraine commanded their small naval force to coast within sight of the army, which would wind

* Raimond, 161, 165. Robert, 70. Archb. of Tyre, 734-6.

CHAP. VI.

wind its way along the shores. Gabala was the next town which was assailed by the Croises, and the emir attempted by large promises of gold to induce Godfrey to raise the siege. But he despised all sordid considerations, and the Turk therefore tried the more easy virtue of Raymond. The count of Tholouse accepted the bribe, and under the plea of the approach of a large army, he requested the co-operation of the duke of Lorraine. The siege of Gabala was raised, but on approaching Arca no Turkish army appeared, and Tancred exposed to the chiefs the cause of the pretended alarm. The young Italian was prompted in this instance by selfish as well as virtuous motives, for Raymond had, through avarice or ambition, withheld from him all pecuniary remuneration for military aid, and he therefore entered into the service of Godfrey.* Raynouard, viscount of Turenne, and some other lords, suddenly attacked Tortosa, and by an ingenious device made the citizens imagine that all the Christian soldiers were before the town. The Muselmans fled in the secresy of the night, and the soldiers entered and pillaged the place.

Treachery of the count of Tholouse.

The

* Albert, 269. Archb. of Tyre, 739. This is the probable account. Raimond d'Agiles, however, considers the accusation by Tancred of Raymond as calumnious, p. 162. The rest of the Latin historians say nothing about the matter.

The treachery of the count of Tholouse diminished his authority; and as his counsels were no longer assisted by the bishop of Puy, even the spiritual reverence which was paid to him, as keeper of the lance, began to decline. The superiority, too, which Raymond and his Provençals claimed on account of their sacred charge, excited the envy and disgust of the army. The prince of Antioch had always been a professed sceptic; and his disbelief had been contagious. To silence incredulity, Raymond on more than one occasion published stories of new revelations from Heaven to Peter Barthelemy; and he declared that death must be the punishment of want of faith. Some examples were made; but they did not produce general conviction. The Latin clergy had no absolute master; and the chaplain of one prince might, with impunity, revile the prodigies which another exhibited. Arnold, chaplain of the duke of Normandy, disclaimed the notion that the lance in the possession of Raymond was the weapon which had pierced the side of Christ. The clerical heretic was eminent both for talents and for profligacy; and though the latter distinction might have injured his judgment on spiritual matters, yet he had a certain energy of character which imposed on the mass of mankind. His representations called for new miracles;

Discovery of the fraud of the lance.

CHAP. VI. cles; and every day some priest or other related his dream of the preceding night, in which he had seen souls dying in hell for even a momentary incredulity. Still, however, it was murmured through the camp, that if the tale of Peter Barthelemy were true, Heaven could bear witness to it by some visible interposition. The fanatic offered to convince the world of his alliance with supernatural powers; and, in the presence of the assembled soldiers, to undergo the fiery ordeal. A regular course of fasting and prayer preceded the trial; and the aid of Heaven was invoked by the clergy. On the appointed day, Peter rushed into the fire, which was supposed to be the agent of God. But Heaven declared that the lance which he bore in his hand was not the true lance, for the flames enveloped and destroyed him. Some poor wretches, as pertinacious as ignorant, continued to maintain its divinity, and attributed Peter's death to the overbearing pressure of the crowd on his coming out of the fire. Raymond, however, was not able to spread this disposition to credulity; and could therefore boast no more of the special confidence of Heaven.*

Politics of the Croises with

While the soldiers were raging with theological hatred on the affair of the lance, the deputies who had been sent into Egypt returned, accom-

* William of Tyre, 739. Raimond, 164–9. Gesta, 571.

Alexius and the caliph.

accompanied by ambassadors of the caliph. The Christians had been treated with Saracenic severity when the Egyptians heard of their reverses; but when the army of the emir of Mosul had fallen, the caliph gave them liberty. Yet he still held the Latins in contempt; and the emperor Alexius encouraged the continuance of hostilities. The deputies of the caliph again proposed that the soldiers of Christ and of Muhammed should bend their united efforts against the Tartarian spoliators: but his politics and religion forbad him from offering the Christians any permanent settlement in Jerusalem. The caliph wished to prepare the way for the acceptance of these terms by large presents to the leaders of the Crusaders: but the presents and the treaty were rejected with indignation. The fury of the Latins was fresh when ambassadors from Alexius reached the camp. The court of Constantinople was filled with astonishment and alarm that Antioch had been given to Bohemond, and commanded the forces to halt till midsummer, when they should be joined by their liege lord. But Godfrey and his council justly reproached their own simplicity for having ever confided in Alexius, and replied to his envoys, that he who had so early broken his oaths to his allies, that he who had violated them whenever they had interfered with his

CHAP. VI. his interest, had no claim upon the fidelity and obedience of others.*

These embassies and negociations awoke the Croises to a full view of the enmity of the Egyptian caliph, and the perfidiousness of Alexius; and they burned with desire to chastise the Muselmans, and to conquer Jerusalem without imperial aid. They despised the count of Tholouse for wishing to press the siege of Arca; and the army resumed its course for Jerusalem along the sea-coast. The emir of Tripoli attempted to oppose the torrent of invaders; but he was soon compelled to deprecate their vengeance; and though Raymond wished that the town should be sacked, yet mercy prevailed in the minds of the other generals; and they were contented with large supplies of provisions, the liberation of three hundred Christian slaves, and the payment of fifteen thousand pieces of gold.† The soldiers crossed the plain

* Raimond, 170. Robert, 71. Archb. of Tyre, 740. Mus. Ital. I. 206, 210.

† The Crusaders found near Tripoli sweet honeyed reeds called Zucra, which they sucked, and liked so much that they could scarcely be satisfied. Albert's account of this plant (the sugar cane) is curious. "It is annually cultivated "with great labour. When ripe they pound it, strain off "the juice, and keep it in vessels till the process of coa-"gulation is complete, and hardens in appearance like "salt

plain of Beritus, went through the country of Sidon,* Athareb or Sarfend, Ptolemais or Acre; and when they arrived at Jaffa, they left their maritime route, and marched to and halted at Ramula.† The Saracens fled from the town; and the Crusaders, in their grateful joy at the possession of its riches, vowed that they would raise a bishopric to the honour of St. George, whose canonized bones reposed there, but whose virtuous spirit had procured them the favour of Heaven.‡ Some daring

" salt or snow. They eat it scraped and mixed with bread, " or dissolved in water, and it is to them more pleasing and " wholesome than the honey of bees." P. 270. These remarks are interesting, inasmuch as they are the first on record which any European ever made concerning a plant, the cultivation whereof forms so large a chapter in the annals of human misery.

* In the country round Sidon, the soldiers were incommoded by serpents or tarantulas. But the bite was cured, and the poison charmed away, when a chief touched the part affected. Another mode of cure is mentioned by Albert of Aix, (p. 271,) which I wonder should have escaped the disgusting diligence of certain wide searching commentators on Shakespeare. If they had discovered it, they would have dragged it in as an illustration of some passage or other, not over delicate, in his Comedies.

† The Crusaders were then only sixteen miles from Jerusalem.

‡ An obscure man (quendam Robertum), they appointed the first bishop on this new establishment. Albert, p. 272.

CHAP. VI.

daring chieftains proposed to march into Egypt and destroy the head itself of the Muhammedan power; an event which would be followed by the immediate submission of Jerusalem. But the counsel was overruled on the strong arguments of the length and difficulty of the march, and the inadequacy of a small army to the accomplishment of so great an end.* On the third day after their arrival at Ramula, the soldiers and people took the road to Jerusalem, and soon reached the town which, in the history of its sacred and its Roman days, had assumed the different names of Emmaus and Nicopolis. The holy city was then in view; every heart glowed with rapture; every eye was bathed in tears. The word Jerusalem was repeated in tumultuous wonder by a thousand tongues; and those who first beheld the blessed spot, called their friends to witness the glorious sight.† All passed pains were forgotten; a moment's happiness outweighed years of sorrow. In their warm imaginations the sepulchre was redeemed, and

The Croises' first view of Jerusalem.

* Raimond, p. 173.

† "Discovering the city afar off, it was a pretty sight to "behold the harmony in the difference of expressing their "joy; how they clothed the same passion with divers ges- "tures: some prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping; all "had much ado to manage so great a gladness." Fuller's History of the Holy War, book i. chap. 24.

and the cross triumphed over the crescent. But with that rapidity of thought which distinguishes minds when strongly agitated by passion, the joy of the stranger, and the fierceness of the warrior, were changed in a moment for religious ideas and feelings. Jerusalem was the scene of the resurrection of Christ; and, therefore, the subject of holy rejoicing: but it was the place of his sufferings also; and true devotion, full of self-abasement and gratitude, is as strongly affected by the causes and circumstances as the consequences of the Great Sacrifice. The soldier became in an instant the simple pilgrim; his lance and sword were thrown aside; he wept over the ground which, he said, his Saviour had wept over; and it was only with naked feet that he could worthily approach the seat of man's redemption.*

Retrospect.

Of the millions of fanatics who had vowed to rescue the sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, forty thousand only encamped before Jerusalem: and of these remains of the champions of the cross, twenty-one thousand five hundred were soldiers,—twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred cavalry. The destruction of more than

* Baldric, 129, 131. Raimond, 173. Albert, 270, 274. Archb. of Tyre, 742, 745. Rad. Cad. 319.

CHAP. VI.

than eight hundred and fifty thousand* Europeans had purchased the possession of Nice, Antioch, and Edessa. It was not from any dread of the Turks that the armies of the Christians were so numerous, but as religious feelings and not political necessities had convulsed the world; as the war proceeded from the people and

* The monkish historians are often perplexed and contradictory on the subject of numbers; but their numerical statements are generally some approaches to truth, and give more distinct ideas to the reader than the phrases, " an in-" numerable multitude," " the people were as numerous as " the sands of the sea, or the leaves of autumn," &c. &c. In a note to p. 81, we shewed that the number of the rabble, destroyed before the march of the grand army, was a quarter of a million. The people before Nice amounted to 700,000, p. 126. There arrived at Jerusalem only 40,000, including the whole or part of several bands of Crusaders, who joined the army at different times, and particularly an English force which had made the voyage by sea in thirty ships, and landed at Laodicea after the battle of Antioch. Raimond, 172, 173. The various reinforcements we will set down at 10,000. The losses by desertion and garrisoning towns were considerable, say 40,000.

Rabble of Peter and others................		250,000
Force before Nice, and additions..	710,000	
Deduct arrivals at Jerusalem, and losses by desertion and garrisoning..	80,000	
	———	630,000
		———
		880,000
		———

and not from the rulers alone, no regulation of princes could limit the number of warriors. A moderate force would have been far more powerful than such unparalleled swarms: it would have been more easily supported, and its compactness would have defied assault. No certain conclusions as to comparative military desert can be drawn from the battle of Doryleum; but the engagement with Kerboga at Antioch shews, that however exhausted the Latins might have been, yet their heroic courage and fanatical spirit could not be successfully opposed by myriads of Moslem votaries. Famine was the active agent of death in the first crusade. The soldiers had heard from preceding pilgrims the horrors of the land journey from Europe to Jerusalem, yet so great was their contempt of the enemy, and so presuming their confidence in the miraculous interposition of Providence, that their religious and military ardor was seldom checked by considerations of policy. The great leaders, indeed, took the wise measure of endeavouring to gain the friendship and aid of Alexius, and with that object before them, they were justified in halting at Nice. But after the subjugation of that city, their march to Jerusalem ought to have been direct and immediate, and the acquisition of Turkish territories should have been deferred till after the foundation of a

 Christian

CHAP. VI. Christian state in Palestine. But as the Crusaders approached the holy land, the cause of their armament was in a great measure forgotten. Ambition and avarice swayed the minds of Bohemond, Baldwin, and Raymond, and real religious enthusiasm burnt more strongly in the minds of the soldiers than of the leaders. The popular imagination was inflamed by fanaticism; but religion had not produced any salutary effect on the lives of the people. They viewed it through the medium of their passions; and in the gratification of their love of war they thought that they were performing their duty to God. The rabble which accompanied Peter were ignorant of the necessity of conciliating the emperor of Constantinople, and therefore placed no restraints on their ferocity. But the policy of the chieftains, and the religious principle of not injuring fellow Christians, preserved some order and discipline in the regular armies, till they had entered into the Turkish territories. But their crimes after their departure from Nice were enormous. Fanaticism had stripped morality from religion, and misery completed the triumph of vice over virtue.*

Jerusalem,

* The Archbishop of Tyre is not very prone to exaggerate the vices of his order: yet he tells us that since the death of Adhemar at Antioch, and the bishop of Orange at Marra, the clergy had sunk into dissoluteness and profligacy; and that,

CHAP VI.

State of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, at the time of the crusade, comprized the hills of Golgotha, Bezetha, Moria, and Acra, and as Mount Sion (one of the early seats of population) was not inclosed within the walls, the city was nearly the figure of a square. The garrison consisted of forty thousand regularly appointed Egyptian troops, commanded by Istakar, a favourite general of the caliph. In this moment of distress, the peasants crowded to Jerusalem with their arms and provisions, and the aggregate of the armed inhabitants and countrymen could not be less than twenty thousand. The Christian tributaries were despoiled, the old men, women, and children were retained, but in dread of their turbulence, the young and vigorous were banished from the city. The valleys and rocks on the south and the east gave Jerusalem an impregnable appearance, and the Christians resolved to attack the more accessible sides of the north and west. The northern line, from the north-east to the north-west corners, was occupied by the two Roberts, Tancred, and Godfrey. The troops of Eustace joined those of his brother, and the line on the west was concluded by the Provençals. In the course of the siege, the count of Tholouse

Invested by the Croises. June 7th, 1099.

 advanced

that, with the exception of the bishop of Bari, and a few others, they were as criminal as the people. P. 763.

CHAP. VI. advanced to Mount Sion, and wished to gain a reputation for piety, by encamping opposite that part of the mount where, it was supposed, the Saviour of the world had eaten his last supper with his disciples.*

The besiegers were ignorant or careless of the superior number of the enemy, and confiding in the justice of their cause, on the fifth day after their encampment made a furious attack. Their bucklers were their only defence against the storms of arrows and fireballs from the besieged. Their impetuous valour hurried them through the Barbacan, and they reached the foot of the city walls. The Musselmans were defended more by their fortifications than their courage, and if the Christians had been possessed of a few common military engines, Jerusalem would have been taken. But they fought with their naked swords alone, and when escalading became necessary, one ladder only was found. Some of the foremost mounted, and the battle was carried on at the top of the walls. Victory for a while hovered over the heads of the Christians; but the consternation of the Fatimites dissipated, they reassembled more quickly than their enemies could accumulate at the

* M. Paris, 38, ed. Watts. Robert. 74. Archb. of Tyre, 750.

the single place of attack, and the ramparts were soon cleared of invaders.* After this ebullition of savage and thoughtless courage, the Christians prepared with some wisdom and prudence for the siege. The princes resolved that every species of military machine should be erected, but the palm and the olive were the only trees which grew in the vicinity, and the propriety was more apparent than the execution of the resolve was practicable, till the soldiers gathered materials from the wood of Sichon, thirty miles from the camp. Some Genoese vessels arrived at Jaffa, and under an escort of the main army, their crews reached Jerusalem. The Italians were well skilled in the useful arts, and assisted by Gaston of Bearn, they erected more formidable machines than the rude soldiers could have raised. The catapult was to assault, the vinea or sow† to undermine the walls, but the most happy issues were anticipated from three immense moveable towers. Each tower had three stories; the

 lowest

* Archb. of Tyre, 750. Baldric, 131.

† The machine which the ancients called a Vinea, and the Crusaders a Sow, was constructed of slight timbers, the roof covered with thin boards, and wicker-work: the sides, defended with undressed hides, protected the soldiers within it, who, after the manner of a sow, proceeded to undermine the foundations of the walls. Malmsbury, p. 441.

CHAP. VI.

lowest near the ground; the second on a level with the ramparts, and the third was much more elevated. The soldiers on each floor were armed with the sword, the bow, and hand mangonel. A few days only were occupied in these preparations; but the privations of the Christians were more severe than their labour. Hunger had been the great calamity before Antioch, and drought was the scourge in the camp round Jerusalem. The naked stones of the Siloe mocked their wants, and the bed of the Cedron is in summer an unwholesome morass. Every fountain and receptacle of water had been destroyed by the emir.* The people eagerly watched for the appearance of dew; they dug holes in the ground, and pressed their mouths to the damp clod. Many abstained from food, in hope of mitigating by hunger the pain of thirst.† The chieftains indeed had their wants occasionally relieved by the Christians of Bethlehem and other towns; but those who had no gold to commute for water, were compelled to travel several miles from the camp in search of springs, exposed to the flying squadrons of the Moslems.

Horrid drought in the Croises' camp.

When

* Turba le fonti e i rivi, e le pour onde
Di veneni mortiferi confonde.

La Gerusalemme Lib. c. i. 89.

† See note I.

When the towers and other works were completed, a day was appointed for a general assault. But Godfrey changed his place of attack, and transported his great tower from the north-west to the part of the north-eastern side of the walls, which was between the gate of Herod and that of St. Stephen. The fortification was low; but the surrounding ditch was so deep, that the Muselmans were justified in not placing their soldiers in that quarter. Raymond's machine too was not brought to the walls; and much remained to be done before Godfrey could make an attack. Three days were spent in filling up the trench: the aid of the Genoese seamen was most efficacious; and all were further stimulated to exertion by the donation of a piece of money to every one who cast three stones into the hollow. At the close of the military preparations religion claimed her dues. Misery had produced disorder and crime; and the clergy complained that, in the short space of a month, the character of the Christian soldiers before Jerusalem had become as immoral as it had been in the long and painful siege of Antioch. Superstition was as active as vice; and it was not a single imposition which could make the people question the truth of visions and dreams. Adhemar appeared by night to one of those priets who had been distinguished for his intimacy

Manners of the Croises.

CHAP. VI.

macy with the departed saints. He assured him that the crimes of the army had caused the horrible drought; but that if the soldiers would be penitent, Heaven would deliver the sacred city into their hands. The people were awed into virtue by this revelation; and the necessity of union became obvious to the chiefs. As no devotion to God is so acceptable as charity to man, the gallant and disinterested Tancred, in the face of the army, offered friendship to Raymond. After this example of virtue, all minor feuds were hushed, and concord and piety reigned throughout the camp. Peter the Hermit, and Arnold, exhorted the Croises to all religious and martial virtues. The soldiers completely armed, made a holy procession round the walls. The clergy, with naked feet, and bearing images of the cross, led them in the sacred way. Cries of "Deus id vult!" rent the air; and the people marched to the melody of hymns and psalms, and not to the sound of drums and trumpets. On Mount Olivet and Mount Sion they prayed for the aid of Heaven in the approaching conflict. The Saracens mocked these expressions of religious feeling by raising and throwing dirt upon crucifixes; but these insults had only the effect of producing louder shouts of sacred joy from the Christians. The next morning every thing was prepared for battle; and there was no one

Procession round Jerusalem.

The city stormed.

one who was not resolved either to die for Christ, or restore his city to liberty. Religious zeal did not only infuse courage and vigour into the infirm and young, but even the women took arms. The battering rams, the cats, and the towers, were impelled against the walls; and the Egyptians met the attack with darts, stones, and the Greek fire. The conflict raged throughout the day; and strong as were the fanaticism and courage of the Christians, yet the triumph lay with the besieged. The great tower of the count of Tholouse was much injured; hundreds of men were slain; and, on the approach of darkness, the commanders ordered a retreat. The night was spent in watching and alarm by Christians and Saracens. The walls of the city had many breaches in them; and the camp was weakly defended. But the spring of action was not relaxed; and when the morning arose, all was industry and bustle. The means both of hostility and defence were repaired. Every Christian seemed fresh and fierce; the towers were manned with choice-drawn cavaliers; some mounted the summits and second stories, others were at the bottom impelling the immense masses. The battering rams were put into motion; and such Croises as were not attached to some of these engines, were stationed at a distance to cover by their darts and arrows the attack

attack of their friends. The besieged repaired their mural breaches, got ready their fire, their boiling oil, and all the dreadful stores of war. For several hours expectation stood in horror for the issue of the raging conflict. About noon the cause of the western world seemed to totter on the brink of destruction; and the most courageous thought that Heaven had deserted its people. At the moment when all appeared lost, a knight was seen on Mount Olivet, waving his glittering shield as a sign to the soldiers that they should rally and return to the charge. Godfrey and Eustace cried to the army that St. George was come to their succour. The languishing spirit of enthusiasm was revived, and the Crusaders returned to the battle with pristine animation. Fatigue and disability vanished; the weary and the wounded were no longer distinguishable from the vigorous and active; the princes, the columns of the army, led the way, and their example awoke the most timid to gallant and noble daring. Nor were the women to be restrained from mingling in the fight: they were every where to be seen in these moments of peril and anxiety, supporting and relieving their fainting friends. In the space of an hour the Barbacan was broken down, and Godfrey's tower rested against the inner wall. Changing the

the duties of a general for those of the soldier, the duke of Lorraine fought with his bow. "The Lord guided his hand, and all his arrows "pierced the enemy through and through." Near him were Eustace and Baldwin, "like two "lions beside another lion."* At the hour, when the Saviour of the world had been crucified,† a soldier, named Letoldus of Tournay, leaped upon the fortifications; his brother Englebert followed, and Godfrey was the third Christian who stood as a conqueror on the ramparts of Jerusalem.‡ The glorious ensign of the

* Dux Godefridus, non tunc miles, sed sagittarius: cujus manus ad prælium et digitos ad bellum Dominus dirigebat; quoniam sagittis jactis, inimicorum pectora et utraque latera perforabat. Juxta quem fratres ejus Eustachius et Balduinus, velut duo juxta leonem leones, et duros ictus jaculorum et lapidum suscipiebant, et quadruplici fænore compensabant. Rob. Mon. 75.—I apprehend that Baldwin du Bourg was the person meant. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, was at Edessa.

† "William of Tyre findeth a great mystery in the time; "because Adam was created on a Friday, and on the same "day and hour our Saviour suffered. But these synchro-"nismes, as when they are natural, are pretty and pleasing. "so when violently wrested, nothing more poor and ridicu-"lous." Fuller's Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

‡ The statement in the text is the most common one of the order in which the Crusaders entered the city. But other nations have contested it: the Pisans are positive it was one of their countrymen. Tronchi, p. 35.

CHAP. VI.

the cross streamed from the walls.* Tancred and the two Roberts burst open the gate of St. Stephen, and the north and north-west parts of the city presented many openings. The news of the success soon reached the ears of Raymond, but instead of entering any of the breaches, he animated his troops to emulate the valour of the French. Raymond's tower had only been partially repaired, the Provençals mounted the walls by ladders, and in a short time all Jerusalem was in possession of the champions of the cross. The Muselmans fought for a while, then fled to their temples, and submitted their necks to slaughter. Such was the carnage in the Mosque of Omar, that the mutilated carcases were hurried by the torrents of blood into the court; dissevered arms and hands floated into the current that carried them into contact

Taken, 15 July, 1099.

First massacre.

* Nothing can be more poetically beautiful than Tasso's description of the appearance of the ensign of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem.

La vincitrice insegna in mille giri
Alteramente si rivolge intorno:
E par che in lei più riverente spiri
L'aura, e che splenda in lei più chiaro il giorno:
Ch' ogni dardo, ogni stral, che in lei si tiri,
O la declini, O faccia indi ritorno:
Par che Sion, par che l'opposto monte
Lieto l'adori, e inchini a lei la fronte.

Gierusalemme Liber. c. 18, 100.

contact with bodies to which they had not belonged.* Ten thousand people were murdered in this sanctuary. It was not only the lacerated and headless trunks which shocked the sight, but the figures of the victors themselves reeking with the blood of their slaughtered enemies. No place of refuge remained to the vanquished, so indiscriminately did the insatiable fanaticism of the conquerors disregard alike supplication and resistance. Some were slain, others were thrown from the tops of the churches and of the citadel. On entering the city, the duke of Lorraine drew his sword and murdered the helpless Saracens, in revenge for the Christian blood spilt by the Moslems, and as a punishment for the railleries and outrages to which they had subjected the pilgrims.† But after having avenged

Cruelty of Godfrey.

His piety.

* Thus, as is expressed in a public document often quoted, if the Pope, and the faithful, desire to know what the Christians did with the Saracens they pursued in Jerusalem, they are assured that, in the porch and temple of Solomon (the Mosque of Omar) they rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses. Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. i. p. 281. See too Ekhard in Martenne, Vet. Script. Amp. Coll. vol. v. p. 523.

† Dux vero Godefridus, non arcem, non aulam, non aurum, non argentum, non spolia, ambiebat: sed cum Francis suis, sanguinem servorum suorum, qui in circuitu Iherusalem effusus fuerat, ab eis vindicare satagebat: et irrisiones et contumelias quas Peregrinis intulerant, ulcisci cubiebat.

CHAP. VI. avenged the cause of Heaven, Godfrey did not neglect other religious duties. He threw aside his armour, clothed himself in a linen mantle, and, with bare head and naked feet, went to the church of the sepulchre. His piety (unchristian as it may appear to enlightened days,) was the piety of all the soldiers: they laid down their arms, washed their hands, and put on habiliments of repentance. In the spirit of humility, with contrite hearts, with tears and groans, they walked over all those places which the Saviour had consecrated by his presence. The whole city was influenced by one spirit; and "the clamour of thanksgiving was loud "enough to have reached the stars." The people vowed to sin no more; and the sick and poor were liberally relieved by the great, who thought themselves sufficiently rich and happy in living to see that day. All previous misfortunes were forgotten in the present holy joy. The ghost of the departed Adhemar came and rejoiced: and as at the resurrection of Christ the bodies of the saints arose, so at the resurrection of the temple from the impurity of the infidels, the spirits of many of those who had fallen

cupiebat. In nullo autem bello talem habuit occidendi facultatem: nec super pontem Antiochiæ, cum giganteum dimidiavit gentilem. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

fallen on the road from Europe to Jerusalem, appeared and shared in the felicity of their friends. Finally, the hermit who, four or five years before, had wept over the degraded condition of the holy city, and who had commiserated the oppressed state of the votaries of Christ in Palestine, was recognized in the person of Peter.* It was remembered that he had taken charge of the letters from the patriarch to the princes of Europe: it was acknowledged that he had excited their piety, and inflamed their zeal; and the multitude fell at his feet in gratitude for his faithful discharge of his trust, praising God who was glorified in his servant.† In

* This is the last historical mention of Peter. Of what became of him afterwards the early writers are silent. Thevet (Vies des Hommes Illustres, livre iv. c. 15) attributes the formation of the Latin kingdom in Palestine entirely to his sage counsels. Another lover of the marvellous puts him on board a ship for France; the vessel would have been wrecked, had it not been for the exertions and prayers of the hermit, and a vow which the count of Clermont made to build a chapel to St. John the Baptist, in case of his safe arrival in France. The chapel was built, and Peter lived near it, in the exercise of all Christian virtues, for a few years. More than a century after his death his tomb was opened; and it is almost needless to mention, that time had not committed any ravage on his person. Oultreman, ch. 10.

† The patriarch had lately returned from Cyprus. This account

CHAP. VI. In wars of ambition, subjugated cities, after the ebullition of military lawlessness, become the possessions of the victorious state and public. But in the Crusades each soldier fought from personal motives; and the cause of the war, and not submission to authority, was the principle of union. Personal interest frequently prevailed; and, accordingly, each Crusader became the owner of any particular house on the portal of which he had set his buckler.* But the treasures of the mosques were converted to the use of the church and of the poor; and among the splendid spoils of two of the principal

account of the religious procession of the Crusaders I have taken almost verbatim from the Archb. of Tyre, 760-1, and the Gesta Francorum, 576. The other historians add little to the narrative of the Archbishop: but they are unanimous in placing the time when the circumstance occurred on the very day of the capture of the city, and immediately after the first massacre. The Archbishop seems to have been incorrect in placing it on the following morning.

* *One* writer (the second anonymous in Bongarsius, p. 577) says, that in consequence of the soldiers of Raymond being the last who entered the town, they had not the usual share of the spoil; and that they piled the dead bodies of the Saracens into heaps, and burnt them, in hopes of finding some pieces of gold and silver among the ashes. Ralph of Caen always describes the Provençals of Raymond as mercenary and selfish. In vulgar phrase, they were the Jews of the army. "Franci ad bella, Provinciales ad victualia," was a proverb among the Christians. Rad. Cad. p. 306.

cipal temples were seventy large chandeliers, fifty of silver, and the remainder of gold.*

The massacre of the Saracens on the capture of the holy city did not proceed from the inflamed passions of victorious soldiers, but from remorseless fanaticism. Benevolence to Turks, Jews, infidels, and heretics, was no part of the piety of the day: and as the Muselmans in their consciences believed that it was the will of Heaven that the religion of Muhammed should be propagated by the sword, so the Christians were under the mental delusion that they were the ministers of God's wrath on disobedient man. The Latins, on the day after the victory, massacred three hundred men to whom Tancred and Gaston de Bearn had promised protection, and had given a standard as a warrant for their safety. Though the religion of Tancred was as cruel as that of his comrades, though his deadly sword had explored every corner of the mosque of Omar, yet he respected the sacredness of his word; and nothing but the interposition of the other chiefs prevented him from retaliating on

 the

* Malmsbury, p. 443, though a great admirer of Tancred, charges him with having appropriated to himself some of the contents of the temple of Solomon; but that afterwards, reproved by his own conscience, and the reproaches of other people, he restored them.

CHAP. VI.

the murderers. It was resolved that no pity should be shewn to the Muselmans; and the most humane justified the determination by the opinion that, in conjunction with the Saracens of Egypt, they might molest the Christians, and recover the city. The subjugated people were therefore dragged into the public places, and slain as victims. Women with children at the breast, girls and boys, all were slaughtered.* The squares, the streets, and even the uninhabited places of Jerusalem again were strewed with the dead bodies of men and women, and the mangled limbs of children. No heart melted into compassion or expanded into benevolence. The city was washed, and the melancholy task was performed by some Saracenian slaves. No contemporary rejoiced out of general regard to humanity; but every one condemned the count of Tholouse, whose avarice was more alive than his superstition, and whose favourite passion made

Second massacre.

* —— Christiani sic neci totum laxaverant animum, ut non sugens masculus aut fæmina nedum infans unius anni vivens manum percussoris evaderet. Albert, 283. As Fuller says, "This second massacre was no slip of an extemporary passion, but a studied and premeditated act."—"Besides, the execution was merciless, upon sucking children, whose not speaking spake for them; and on women, whose weakness is a shield to defend them against a valiant man." Fuller, Holy War, book i. ch. 24.

made him save and conduct to Ascalon the only few Muselmans, except the slaves, who escaped the general butchery. The synagogues were set on fire, and the Jews perished in the flames.*

CHAP. VI.

* This account of the siege of Jerusalem has been taken (frequently a mere verbal translation) from the original writers, or their immediate abridgements in Bongarsius, Gesta, 27, 28. Robert, 74, 76. Baldric, 132, 134. Raimond, 175, 178, the first thirty-one chapters of the sixth book of Albert of Aix, Guibert, 533, 537, the second Gesta, 573, 577, and the eighth book of William of Tyre. Add to these, Ordericus Vitalis, 756. Mus. Ital. i. 223, 226. Ralph of Caen, 324, &c. Malmsbury, 443, &c. and M. Paris, 41. The Archbishop of Tyre only mentions one massacre: that in the temple of Solomon, in which ten thousand men fell. He justifies it on the argument, that the Saracens deserved punishment for their profanation of the holy places. He then says there were about the same number killed in the streets. There is no doubt that the Christians murdered the Muselmans from *principle*. In the middle ages the vice of intolerance attacked the lives of men: in later times it has, with more humanity and refinement, disturbed their rights and possessions only. The total number of the Moslem victims is not mentioned by the Latin writers. Aboulmahasen, one of De Guignes' authorities (Hist. des Huns, &c. vol. ii. p. 99), says, that one hundred thousand people perished in the mosques of Sakra and Akra, and one hundred thousand were made prisoners; the aged and infirm were killed, and the women became captives. These general expressions are as useful as "the sands of the sea," and "the stars of the

"Heaven,"

"Heaven," of the Greek authors. The Christians made no prisoners; and Albert is decisive that in days of chivalry women were assassinated. Abulfeda (vol. iii. p. 519, ed. Reiske) coolly says, that the massacre lasted seven days, and that seventy thousand persons were killed in the mosque of Omar. But Aboulmahasen and Abulfeda lived many years after the event, and only wrote from incorrect tradition.

CHAP. VII.

THE STATE OF THE HOLY LAND AFTER THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem...... Succession of kings between the first and second Crusades......Godfrey......Baldwin I.......Baldwin II. ......Fulk......Baldwin III......Political history of the kingdom of Jerusalem......Limits of the kingdom......Military history......Mode of warfare ......Supplement to the first Crusade......Death of the count of Tholouse......Foundation of the county of Tripoli......History of that state......Affairs of Antioch......History of Edessa......The Courtenay family.......Fall of Edessa......Vain attempt to recover it.

Jerusalem was in the hands of the Christians; the sepulchre was redeemed, and the blood of the Moslems atoned for profanation. The coolest policy must approve the conduct of the vanquishers subsequently to the capture of the city, though it was the result of martial phrensy; for, surrounded by Muselman foes, the new inhabitants of Jerusalem could alone preserve their independence by extending their territory.

 A Chris-

CHAP. VII. A Christian kingdom was raised, and the laws, language,* and manners of Europe were planted in Palestine. A minute and chronological history of the battles and sieges in which the Latins were involved would be neither profitable nor agreeable; but a full and distinct knowledge may be gained of the effects of the first Crusade,† if we separate the military from the civil transactions, and regard the natural relations of things rather than the order of time. The political history of Palestine forms the subject of the present chapter. The next will comprise

* The language of the Latin Christians in Palestine was the same as that which was spoken in Northern France, and which was carried by the Normans into England, and superceded the Anglo Saxon. It was a dialect of the Romane or Romance language, and was called the French Romane, in distinction from the other dialect called the Provençal Romane. As another name of the latter was afterwards an important territorial distinction, I may remind the reader that in the provinces to the south of the Loire the affirmative *yes* was expressed by the word *oc*, in the north it was called *oil*: and hence Dante has named the southern language langue d'oc, and the northern, langue d'oil.

† In strict propriety, the word Crusade is applicable to the state of every Christian who assumed the badge of the cross, travelled to the holy land, and fought with the infidels. But I shall use the word in the confined sense of those great or national armaments which went to Palestine at the instigation of the Pope, or of a general council, and in consequence of some important political event in the east.

CHAP. VII.

prise a view of the constitution and laws of the Latins, and some religious and military institutions which distinguished the newly established kingdom.

Foundation of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, A.D. 1099, 23 July.

On the eighth day after the capture of the holy city, the princes assembled for the august purpose of electing a monarch. The deliberations were interrupted by several of the clergy as representatives of the bishop of Calabria and Arnold, one of whom was ambitious of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and the other of the bishoprick of Bethlehem. The meddling priests confessed the propriety of electing a king, but declared that precedence should accompany rank, and that as spiritual things were more worthy than those of a temporal nature, the choice of a patriarch should take place before that of a monarch.* The princes treated this intrusion with contempt; and it was resolved that personal merit should be rewarded by royal dignities. The rank, family, and possessions of the chieftains were known to each other; but private

* The archbishop of Tyre admits the force of the general reasoning involved in this declaration, but is indignant that such arguments should be used as a mere cloak to ambition. He every where censures Arnold for profligate manners, and Raimond d'Agiles says, that the debaucheries of this priest were the subjects of the songs of the army.

CHAP. VII.

private morals and manners are visible only to friends and domestics.* The enquiry was made, and Godfrey's virtues were declared to be pre-eminent.† The princes conducted him in religious and stately order to the church which covered the tomb of Christ: but he refused to wear a diadem in a city where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns; and modestly avowed, that the honour of becoming the defender and advocate of the holy sepulchre was all that he aspired to.‡

Succession of kings between the first and second Crusades.

A year wanting five days was the term of the short reign of Godfrey. His tomb was not only watered by the tears of his friends, but was honoured

* Godfrey's friends gave a singular proof of his religious disposition. He was fond of remaining in church after the termination of the service: his attendants were tired and impatient; and his excessive devotion often spoilt the dinner. Archb. of Tyre, 764.

† "As for the knowing of men, which is at second hand "from reports: men's weakness and faults are best known "from their enemies, their virtues and abilities from their "friends, their customs and crimes from their servants, "their conceits and opinions from their familiar friends, "with whom they discourse most. General fame is light, "and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are de-"ceitful; for to such, men are more masked. *Verior fama "è domesticis emanat.*" Bacon, of the Advancement of Knowledge, book 2. Works, vol. i. p. 203, edit. 1803.

‡ See Appendix, note K.

Godfrey, A.D. 1099-1100.

honoured by the lamentations of many of the Muselmans, whose affections his virtues had conciliated. The church of the holy sepulchre received his ashes, and it was decreed that that place should be the repository of the kings his successors.* On his death there arose a struggle for supremacy between the clerical and secular powers. The claims of the church to the possession of all divine and human authority were transferred from the west to the east. Godfrey, Bohemond, and Baldwin, had been invested by the patriarch† with rule over their several states, and the artful churchman contended, that as God had been the conqueror of Jerusalem, God was its king, and that he, as heaven's vicegerent, should be received as governor. The humble and religious Godfrey had renounced to the ambitious prelate the whole town of Jaffa, the

* Albert, 299. Guibert, 554. William, 775. Godfrey was only forty years old at the time of his death.

† Daimbert, bishop of Pisa, was legate of Pope Paschal the Second, the successor of Pope Urban the Second, who died fifteen days after the capture of Jerusalem, and therefore from some other cause than joy at that event. Albert of Aix charges Baldwin and Bohemond with having taken the bribes of Daimbert. The duke of Normandy had succeeded in making his friend Arnold patriarch, but, on the arrival of Daimbert, the Norman priest prudently resigned, and the Pisan prelate stepped into the vacant place. Archb. of Tyre, 771.

CHAP.VII. the sepulchre, the tower of David, and many other parts of Jerusalem; and the strange condition had been added, that if Godfrey should die without children, the two cities were to go unreservedly to the patriarch.* The king left no issue, but his promises to the church could not affect his people, and a valiant nation felt that it was more necessary to be governed by a sword than a crosier. Tancred offered the throne to the prince of Antioch, but Bohemond about that time lost his liberty in endeavouring to extend his power into the Armenian territories. A fruitless attempt was made by the enemies of the Bouillon family, to invest the count of Tholouse with royal honours. But most of the barons and cavaliers fixed their regards upon the count of Edessa. The enterprising spirit of Baldwin eagerly aspired to a throne, and although the principality comprehended more territories than the kingdom, yet the possession of the holy city was the highest object of ambition as well as of devotion. He shed some tears for the death of his brother, but his feelings of joy at the prospect of a kingly crown soon overcame his grief. He resigned Edessa to his relation, Baldwin du Bourg, and hastened to take possession of the throne.

* The Archbishop of Tyre (p. 771) is ashamed of the rapacity of Daimbert.

throne. He repelled the attacks of the emirs of Damascus and Ems, ever active when the Christians left their fortifications; but so many were the perils of the little army in its march to Jerusalem, that his good chaplain, with great honesty and simplicity confesses, he had rather at that time have been at Chartres than in the holy land. All the barons received the brother of Godfrey with acclamations: and the patriarch, not thinking it politic to display his mortification, pretended fear, and retired to the sanctuary of Mount Sion. Baldwin, satisfied with the acknowledgments of the soldiers, disregarded the sanction of the church. But after some shew of his power and abilities, friends mediated an accommodation between him and the prelate: and, before all ranks of people in the church of Bethlehem, the patriarch poured the oil of consecration on the head of Baldwin, and crowned him with the regal diadem.* But Tancred, the other opponent of the new king, was not so soon appeased. He had retired from Jerusalem

Baldwin I. A. D. 1100 —1118.

* Archb. of Tyre, 776, 780. Albert, 301, 307. Fulcher, 402, 406. "As for that religious scruple which Godfrey "made to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of "thorns, Baldwin easily dispensed therewith. And surely "in these things the mind is all: a crown might be refused "with pride, and worn with humility." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. 7.

CHAP. VII. Jerusalem before the coronation, and he would not repair thither on a royal summons to do homage for some territories which he had acquired from the Muselmans. He haughtily replied, that he knew no judge of Jerusalem. A second and third summons were unanswered; but in a short time afterwards he proposed to confer with the king near a river between Jaffa and Azotus. The remembrance of animosities in Cilicia embittered subjects of present altercation, and the agreement of the princes to delay the conclusion of the conference, prevented open outrage. The people of Antioch entreated the young Italian to administer the affairs of their country during the confinement of his relation Bohemond. Peace without a compromise of character was in the power of Tancred, and he therefore delivered the contested places to the sovereign, upon the condition that, in the event of his return, he might enjoy them in feudal tenure.*

In the reign of Baldwin, the kingdom of Jerusalem acquired strength and extent. The Muselmans of Syria trembled, and concealed their hatred of the invaders. The Fatimites, however, continually menaced the infant state. Baldwin marched his army into Egypt. But the

* Albert, 307-8.

the hand of nature arrested him in the career of his fortune. The intellectual firmness of the dying man was greater than that of his friends. He endeavoured to moderate their lamentations, by recalling to their minds the perils of war and famine which they had surmounted. The place of an individual such as himself could be readily supplied, and it was their duty to think only of preserving the holy land. One desire which dwelt upon his mind was that they would not suffer his body to lie in Egypt, where it would become a subject of ridicule for the Muselmans. His weeping friends replied, that in the heat of the season they could scarcely touch, much less carry a corpse so great a distance; but the dying man gave them specific instructions for embalming his body, which would enable them with ease to remove it to Jerusalem. Then, recommending Baldwin du Bourg for his successor, he expired. All the soldiers mourned his death: but after the first violence of grief, the Franks assumed their ordinary appearance, lest the fatal circumstance should become known to, and inspire the enemy with confidence. The army immediately left Egypt, and quickly reached the vicinity of Jerusalem. The time was the week before Easter: Baldwin du Bourg and his Edessenes were just arriving to celebrate the feast; they joined the

melancholy

CHAP. VII. melancholy train, and the body of the late king was taken to the sepulchre of Godfrey. The sudden loss overwhelmed the Latins with grief, and even the Saracens in Jerusalem sympathised with the common feeling. As a general in the army of the first Crusaders, and as the conqueror of Edessa, Baldwin was selfish, treacherous, and ambitious. But when he attained the height of power, he displayed commanding virtues; what he planned with ability, he generally executed with prudence; and as in the early period of his reign the number of the Christian residents in Palestine was small, and the Turks pressed him on every side, great honour must be given to a man who supported and enlarged a state which was placed on such weak foundations.*

On

* Fulcher, 423, 430. Gesta, 609, 614. Albert, 358, 377. Archb. of Tyre, 808, 816. It is difficult to conceive why Tasso censures Baldwin, and praises Bohemond. Their cases were the same. Both deserted the Crusade from selfish motives, and, for aught appears to the contrary, both were wise princes over Edessa and Antioch.

Ma vede in Baldovin cupido ingegno
Ch' all' umane grandezze intento aspira:
* * * * *
E fondar Boemondo al novo regno
Suo d' Antiochia alti principi mira;
E leggi imporre, ed introdur costume,
Ed arti, e culto di verace nume.

La Gerusalemme Liberata, canto i. 9.

On the very day of Baldwin's funeral, the prelates and barons met in council for the choice of a successor. The prince had died without children.* The lovers of hereditary succession urged the claims of Eustace, brother of the deceased king; but that prince was in Europe,† and the necessities of the country required a monarch without delay. Joscelyn de Courtenay, whose history occupies a large space in the annals of Edessa, urged the claims of Baldwin du Bourg, on the grounds of his valour and wisdom, and also his consanguinity to the late sovereigns. His opinion was espoused by the patriarch; no contradiction was offered by the other barons or prelates; Baldwin du Bourg was anointed king of Jerusalem, and repaid the

CHAP. VII.

Baldwin II.
A. D. 1118
—1131.

 services

* Whether Baldwin had one, two, or three wives, is disputed. Fulcher, 426. Guibert, 558. Albert, 373. Malmsbury, 468. But as it is certain that he left no children, and as the conduct of his wives had no effect on politics, their history is not important to us.

† Some of the lords of Palestine sent an offer of the crown to Eustace. He left France, but refused to continue his route, when he heard, in Italy, that the people had chosen Baldwin du Bourg. The brother of Godfrey generously and piously exclaimed, " God forbid that I should ever excite " trouble in a country, where Jesus Christ offered up his " life, in order to reconcile guilty man to heaven." L'Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. ii. p. 763.

CHAP.VII. services of Courtenay by resigning to him the whole of the Edessene principality.*

Baldwin du Bourg reigned from the year 1118 to the year 1131. His portrait as a monarch may be comprised in the assertion, that he imitated the piety of Godfrey, and the military conduct of Baldwin I. He pursued with constancy the politics of his predecessors, and largely added to the kingdom of Jerusalem.†

Fulk, 1131 —1144.

The fourth Latin king was Fulk, count of Anjou.‡ He was one of those numerous cavaliers whom restlessness as well as religion drove from Europe into Asia. In the year 1120 he travelled to the holy land with an hundred men at arms. He was then in the meridian of life;§ and

* Albert, 379. Gesta, 614. Archb. of Tyre, 817.

† Ascalon was not taken till the reign of Almeric I. The conquest of that important city was the last and greatest accession of power to the kindom of Jerusalem.

‡ The earls of Anjou had often made journies to Palestine. One of them many years before the first crusade went to Jerusalem, and compelling two servants by an oath to do whatever he commanded, he was publicly dragged by them, in the sight of the Turks, to the holy sepulchre. The servants scourged his naked back, while the old sinner cried aloud, "Lord receive thy wretched Fulk, thy perfidious, "thy runagate; regard my repentant soul, O Lord!" Malmsbury, p. 307.

§ The archbishop of Tyre is certainly wrong in making Fulk's age sixty when he married Melesinda. He was not even

CHAP. VII.

and though his residence in the holy land was short, yet he left a strong impression on the court of his virtues and accomplishments. The king of Jerusalem had no son,* and he wished to ally one of his daughters to a noble French family. He fixed his eyes on Fulk; the offer was a splendid temptation, and nine years posterior to his first expedition, the gallant warrior landed in Palestine as the acknowledged heir to the throne. Not long afterwards, the king was taken ill, and finding his death approaching, he threw aside the royal robes, quitted his palace, and repaired to the more holy dwelling of the patriarch. The high clergy and barons were summoned; in their presence he gave the sovereignty to his daughter Melesinda and her husband Fulk, and died in their embraces.†

Aug. 1131.

Fulk was the sovereign of Jerusalem from the year 1131 till 1144. His conduct as king afforded little matter for praise or reproach.

T 2 He

even thirty-eight: he was born in 1092. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, article, Comtes d'Anjou.

* Baldwin was married to Morfia, daughter of an Armenian lord. She bore him four daughters: Melesinda; Alice, who married Bohemond, the second prince of Antioch; Hodierna, who became the wife of Raymond, count of Tripoli; and Joie, who died an abbess.

† Archb. of Tyre, 846, 851.

CHAP. VII.

He left the state nearly as he found it. His panegyrist, the archbishop of Tyre, has dignified him with the different virtues of a hero and a saint, and then mixing a description of his mental with his personal qualities, he says, the king had red hair, but that, contrary to the usual case of such persons, he was kind, affable, and compassionate.

Baldwin III. A. D. 1144 —1162.

Baldwin, the third of that name, eldest son of the late king, was crowned, with Melesinda his mother, in the church of the holy sepulchre, by the patriarch of Jerusalem. At the time of his coronation he was only thirteen years old, but he soon cast off the restraint of maternal authority, and bore the sceptre alone. In his reign the principality of Edessa was torn from the Christians, and a new crusade was undertaken by the potentates and people of the west.

Political history of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In the short reign of Godfrey, the Christians wrested Caiphas, and the towns on the lake of Genesareth from the Muselmans. The emirs of Cesarea, Ascalon, and Acre, sent presents and tributes of money to the king; but his principal care was bestowed on fortifying Jaffa, and rendering it a convenient station for religious travellers. Important accessions of strength were made to the kingdom of Jerusalem in the reign of Baldwin the first. That monarch

CHAP. VII.

monarch completed the subjugation of Azotus, a city which had been in alternate submission and rebellion in the reign of Godfrey. In the year 1103, the city of Acre resisted the Christian knights, but in the following spring seventy Genoese vessels, filled with pilgrims and soldiers, arrived in the holy land, and, associated with the national troops, had the glory of achieving the conquest. The merchant warriors had always commerce in view, and extorted from Baldwin a third of the plunder, a street, and an exchange in Acre, with various commercial privileges.* Beritus became a Christian barony, and by the conquest of Sarepta, the king could attack with equal ease its neighbours, Tyre and Sidon. In 1111, some pilgrims from the north of Europe † landed at Jaffa. Their work of piety completed, they accorded with Baldwin's wish for the performance of some act of veneration for the Christian cause, and they claimed only provisions in return for their services. The supreme court resolved that Sidon would be the most important of all acquisitions. But after having attacked

1109.

 the

* Archb. of Tyre, 791. Fulcher, 416. Bernardus, cap. 91.

† The archbishop of Tyre calls them Danes and Norwegians. Albert says they came from Jutland, Denmark, and Flanders.

CHAP. VII. the city by every instrument of violence, and with every stratagem of art, reverses in another part of his country compelled the king to make peace with the Sidonians, and the Europeans were dismissed. A very few years afterwards, Sivard, a Norwegian prince, landed at Ascalon with ten thousand fighting men. They were conducted to Jerusalem, and Baldwin, with his clergy and people, shewed them those spots which were sacred in the eyes of Christians. When their zeal was at its height, the renewal of the siege of Sidon was resolved upon; the Norwegian fleet blockaded the city by sea, and the king, with Bertrand, count of Tripoli, assaulted it by land. Baldwin had called his allies to no trifling enterprize, for six weeks elapsed before the besieged Saracens yielded.*

1115.

After having destroyed a fleet of Genoese and Pisans, the Venetian navy sailed to the holy land; and the doge Michael performed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The warlike Christians of Palestine thought that the occasion was favourable for strengthening their frontier. In a political view, Tyre and Ascalon were equally important; but the counsel of Heaven was invoked in the church of the sepulchre, and the lot

* Albert, 346, 347, 364, 365. Archb. of Tyre, 804, 805. Hist. de Regibus Norvagicis, cap. xxxiii. edit. Kirchman.

lot fell upon Tyre. Religious feelings did not absorb worldly considerations; but the doge demanded and obtained, in return for the use of his navy, the promise of a moiety (which was afterwards reduced to a third) of the city of Tyre in full sovereignty; a street, a church, and other advantages in Jerusalem and its dependencies. The winter was passed in preparations for war; and the patriarch and clergy pawned the ornaments of the churches in order to raise money for the soldiers. In the spring the Venetian navy entered the port of Tyre, and formed their line of battle. The army of Jerusalem, commanded by Eustace, lord of Cesarea and Sidon,* the count of Tripoli, and the patriarch, attacked the triple walls and towers on the land's side. Tyre, though fallen from the grandeur of ancient days, was still one of the richest and most powerful cities on the Mediterranean

1124.

* Baldwin II. was at that time the prisoner of Balak, a Turkish emir. This was his second captivity. A few years before, he and Joscelyn de Courtenay had been made captive by the Turks; but some Armenians entered the place of their confinement in the disguise of monks and pedlars, stabbed the garrison, and gave liberty to the king and count. But Baldwin was again taken prisoner. Joscelyn, however, defeated and killed Balak in a general engagement; and this victory accelerated the fall of Tyre, and the liberation of the king.

CHAP. VII. diterranean shores. When the Christians besieged it, the caliphs of Egypt were its lords; but they shewed the feebleness of their government by conceding a third part of it to the sultans of Damascus, whose situation was more convenient than theirs for the defence of the city. Tyre was crowded with a rich and luxurious population; but the soldiers of Syria were the strength of the place. If the Turks and Egyptians were sometimes divided in their exertions, their enemies were equally discontented; and the land-forces of the Christians complained of all the labour of the siege. At the end of five months, the battering rams had made dreadful breaches in the walls, and famine attenuated the numerous population. The doge landed his sailors; and they prepared to scale the ramparts. A generous emulation was provoked by this union, and the town was compelled to capitulate. The Franks and the Venetians shared the prize; and an archbishopric, subordinate to the patriarchate of Jerusalem, was established.*

July 1124.

Limits of the kingdom.

In its largest extent, the Latin kingdom of Palestine spread from the Mediterranean to the deserts

* Gesta, 620, 621. Archb. of Tyre, 829-841, 847. Fulcher, 431-440. Ord. Vit. 829. Bernard, c. 117-120.

deserts of Arabia,* and from the river between Beritus and Biblos to the town of Darum.† The lands were parcelled out among the Crusaders agreeably to the general principles of feudal polity. Sometimes the conquered Muselmans were allowed to live as tributaries,‡ but, generally,

* The people complained that there was no station of defence on the other side of the Dead Sea; and immediately Baldwin I. built the fortress of Karac, or Montreal, in the third Arabia. Archb. of Tyre, 812. In the reign of Fulk, a place called Karac was built in the second Arabia, near the ancient Raba, by a nobleman named Pagan. Archb. of Tyre, 884, 885. There were other towns in the Palestinian dominions called Karac; and this application of one name to various places has given rise to much confusion.

† We might perhaps add the county of Tripoli to this slip of land. Tripoli was nominally dependent on Jerusalem; but in conduct it was often a free state. The principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa were the allies but not the tributaries of the Latin kingdom. In 1149, Baldwin III. re-edified Gaza, in order to check the incursions of the Egyptians from their station in Ascalon. In 1153, Ascalon was taken by the Christians, as we shall decribe in a succeeding chapter. But long before that event Edessa had been recaptured by the Turks; and, in a general political point of view, the loss and gain were nearly balanced.

‡ A new class of people became known in consequence of the intercourse between the Crusaders and the Muselmans. The Pullani or Poulains were the children of Syrian mothers and European fathers, or of Syrian fathers and European

CHAP. VII. generally, the towns were exclusively occupied by the Crusaders. The subjects of Baldwin I. were few; but he invited to his capital all those Christian families, who, at various times of ecclesiastical persecution, had sheltered themselves in Arabia. For the encouragement of commerce, his immediate successor allowed all people, whether Christians or Muselmans, to trade with Jerusalem exempt from customary imposts.*

Military history.

During all the interval between the first and second crusades, the holy land was seldom free from hostile inroads. The Latin conquests had spread consternation among the Muselmans, and the people of Damascus implored the aid and advice of the caliph of Bagdad. Tears and good wishes were the only return which the commander of the faithful could give. But the sultan of Egypt was alarmed for the safety of his dominions in Palestine. Within a month after the election of Godfrey, Al Aphdal (the former conqueror of Jerusalem) poured his Fatimites into the holy land, and they were joined by thousands of Arabians and Turks. Five thousand horsemen, and fifteen thousand foot

European mothers. The former was generally the case; for European women were not very numerous in Palestine.

* Fulcher, cap. 49, p. 430.

foot soldiers, constituted the Latin force; and, in the exaggeration of vanity or fear, the number of the infidels has been equalled to that of the hosts of Kerboga at Antioch.* The Moslems waited the attack, and so sure were they of victory that every man had a bottle of water suspended from his neck, wherewith he could refresh himself in pursuing the routed Latins. But all their wisdom was wasted in confidence. The soldiers of the king of Jerusalem uttered a short prayer, and rushed upon the enemy with all the fury which courage, inflamed by holy madness, could inspire. Godfrey, the duke of Normandy, and Tancred were the most distinguished in the attack. On the first onset the Egyptians fled. According to the vaunt of the Latin historians, scarcely a man fell on the side of the Christians, while thirty thousand of the foes were slain on the field of battle, and sixty thousand in the pursuit. The only resistance which the Franks experienced was made by a body of more than five thousand Ethiopians, who concealed themselves among the inequalities of the ground, fired their arrows, and then plunged into the ranks of their enemy with swords and with scourges of leather and iron balls. But their valour was unsupported, and the

* Enc: Letter in Martenne, Thes. Nov. vol. 1, p. 281.

CHAP. VII. the Latins scattered or destroyed them. The spoil of the Egyptian camp was immense; the whole was divided among the soldiers, except the sword and standard of the sultan, which were taken to Jerusalem, and hung over the altar of the holy sepulchre.*

In the second year of the reign of Baldwin the first, the Egyptians made a rapid march into Palestine, and the Franks heard that they were encamped at Ramula. Presuming on his prowess, and not waiting for all the military strength of the nation, the king headed some few hundred horsemen. The small phalanx was overwhelmed by the Egyptians; Stephen earl of Chartres† was taken prisoner, and murdered by his enemy; and the earl of Burgundy, and most of the Christians, were slain in the field. After surviving the perils of the battle, and escaping the danger of being burnt in some wood where he concealed himself, Baldwin took refuge

* Archb. of Tyre, book 9, ch. 10—13. Albert, book 6, chap. 47. Gesta, 29.

† The earl of Chartres, mentioned in the text, was the *hero* who ran away in the first Crusade. His wife was Adela, a daughter of king William I. of England, and this spirited lady vowed she would give her husband no rest till he recovered his fame in Palestine. He went thither, and died in the manner above related.

refuge in a castle near Ramula, which was soon menaced by the Saracens. When apparently nothing short of a miracle could avert his fate, he was saved by a noble action of gratitude. In a former moment of victory he had overtaken a Muselman woman in the pangs of labour. He gave her his cloak to wrap herself in, and his friends carried her water and fruit. When the child was born he sent the objects of his humane attention to their nearest relative, who was a Saracen of rank. The Turk, as full of gratitude as of joy, vowed that he would never forget the generosity of Baldwin. In the course of the night the grateful Muselman approached the walls, and told the sentinels that he had matters of state to communicate to the king. They allowed him to pass, and to enter the royal chambers. He declared his name and character to the astonished monarch, and revealed his purpose of rescuing the friend of his wife and infant. Baldwin had little time for deliberation, and no expedients for choice: he was assured that the castle must fall, and he knew that the dignity of his station would be no shield against the sword of the Muselmans. He trusted therefore to the offer of the noble Saracen for safe conduct through the Moslem force. The Christians lost the castle, but the

calamity

CHAP. VII. calamity was amply compensated by the escape of the king.*

Mode of warfare.

The conduct of the Christians in their hostilities with the Muselmans present to us some curious particulars of the state of the age. Before every battle the aid of Heaven was invoked; and the priests were not remiss in blessing and animating the warriors. The cause of war and religion was dear to all classes of people: the aged gave their prayers, the weak their tears, while military fierceness strung the nerves of the young and adventurous. On occasions of more than ordinary importance, when the clock of Jerusalem sounded the note of war, fasts were ordained of such superstitious rigour, that children at the breast were not allowed the usual nourishment; and the herds of cattle were driven from their pasturage. It was pretended that a piece of the true cross was found in the holy city; the great fraud of the fourth century was revived; and the precious relic was in every engagement the chief incitement to valour. The thunders of Heaven were often supposed to have aided the soldiers of God; and the people,

* On this occasion the archbishop of Tyre is poetical. He says the king appeared among his subjects quasi stella matutina in medio refulgens nebulæ, p. 788.

ple, more credulous than delicate, carried into the field some milk which they believed had belonged to the Blessed Virgin.* The Franks never forgot the lesson which the Moslems had taught them of ripping open bodies for gold.† Religious wars have always been more sanguinary than contests which have sprung from ambition or national animosities. In the Crusades intolerance and implacability went hand in hand; and the fancied authority of Heaven for the infliction of punishment sharpened and embittered the military character, which was already wild and savagely furious. In the wars which scourged and desolated Europe, the spirit

* The expression of Robert de Monte is,—"Episcopus "Bethleemides ferens in pyxide lac sanctæ Mariæ Virginis." —This singular relic is a great subject of ridicule in Erasmus' Dialogue concerning Pilgrimages. "O matrem filii "simillimam! ille nobis tantum sanguinis sui reliquit in "terris; hæc tantum lactis, quantum vix credibile est esse "posse uni mulieri uniparæ, etiamsi nihil bibisset infans," &c. &c. Thus too Swift, "Lord Peter swore he had a cow "at home, which gave as much milk at a meal as would "fill three thousand churches; and, what was yet more ex-"traordinary, would never turn sour." A Tale of a Tub, section 4.

† See p. 29, ante. Speaking of the sack of Azotus by the soldiers of Baldwin in 1101, Malmsbury says, "the "scene was enough to excite laughter in a by-stander, to "see a Turk disgorging besants when struck on the neck "by the fist of a Christian."

CHAP. VII. spirit of chivalry mitigated the ferocity of the soldier; his heart was accessible to the claims of the injured, the wretched, and the prostrate. But when he fixed the sign of the cross on his coat of mail, and spurred his charger in the plains of Palestine, sanctified bitterness mingled with his valour, and all the sympathies and charities of the gentle knight disappeared. It behoved the champion of the sepulchre to wade through seas of blood. The cries of women, and the helplessness of children, could not mollify the rigour of fanaticism. The humanities of chivalry were denied to the Muselmans; for chivalry was an institution of Christianity (of Christianity in a corrupted and degraded state), and founded as much for the purpose of the destruction of infidels, as for the security and happiness of the faithful. Both vindictive antipathy and evangelical charity were the duties of knighthood; and he who spared a Muselman was as faithless a soldier of Christ, as he who plunged his sword into the heart of a fallen and suppliant Christian.

Supplement to the first Crusade.

The mercantile cities of Italy, and the people of the north of Europe, co-operated with the remnants of the first Crusaders in forming a kingdom. France, Italy, and Germany, poured forth their hosts as soon as the western world had been blessed with the news that the sepulchre

chre was in the hands of the faithful. The new champions of the cross encountered, but sunk under the horrors of Asia Minor.* The sword of the enemy, and those destructive agents of death, famine and disease, swept from the world more than four hundred thousand fanatical spirits †

CHAP. VII.

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* A detailed history of the preparations and march of these supplementary Crusaders would be only a repetition (changing names) of many of the circumstances of the first Crusade. I shall limit myself, therefore, chiefly to results.

† The aggregate mentioned in the text is comprised of these materials:

Conrad, constable of the emperor Henry IV. led	2,000
The counts of Vermandois, Blois, Burgundy, and Vendome, the count of Parma, and the bishop of Milan	260,000
Counts of Nevers and Auxerre	15,000
Dukes of Aquitain, Bavaria, and marchioness of Austria	160,000
	437,000

Most of these people perished in Asia Minor. The counts of Blois and Vermandois mentioned in the second division, were the celebrated Stephen and Hugh of the first Crusade. The earl of Vermandois died of his wounds at Tarsus in Cilicia. The earl of Blois reached Jerusalem, but was taken prisoner (A. D. 1102) by the Egyptians, and murdered. See p. 284, ante. Ordericus Vitalis, 789–793. Albert, 316–325. Archb. of Tyre, 782–787. See too L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 561, 705, 295, 615, 358. The duke of

CHAP. VII.

One* beneficial consequence resulting to the Christian cause from this profusion of blood was the capture of Tortosa, which like Azotus had fluctuated between submission and rebellion. The count of Tholouse had been the guide of the Crusaders through Asia Minor, and rather than censure their own improvidence they attributed many of their misfortunes to the treachery of their leader. But opinions changed, or indignation abated; and under his command, and for his use, the French Princes subjugated Tortosa: and if valour had met with its reward [illegible] the

of Aquitain, whom we have mentioned, had need of expiation of his offences against religion and the clergy. He had married a woman whose husband was living; and the bishop was resolved to excommunicate him. He began to read the form; but the nobleman drew his sword, and threatened to kill him. The prelate, pretending alarm, desired a moment's reflection, and made use of it to finish the ceremony of excommunication. "Strike now," he exclaimed, "I am "ready." "No," replied the prince, "I do not love you "well enough to dismiss your soul to Paradise; but I will "send your body into exile."

* The remnants of the supplemental Crusade were as useful in supporting, as the remnants of the first Crusaders had been in forming, the Latin kingdom in Palestine. After the capture of Jerusalem, most of the Christians who survived returned to Europe. Tancred was the only chief who remained with Godfrey; and the effective force of himself and the king did not exceed two thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred horsemen.

the broad banners of the cross would have surmounted the ramparts of Tripoli. The hope of conquering that city never deserted Raymond, and his Provençals built a castle near it which was called the castle of the Pilgrims, from the holy character of those who erected it. In France his territories were more extensive than those of the Capetian monarchs: in rank and power he far exceeded Godfrey of Bouillon. But his ambition and treachery gradually lost him the favour of the chiefs; old age came upon him, and he died unlamented on the sea coast of Palestine, in the year 1105.* He bequeathed

* Archb. of Tyre, 791, 795. In the earl of Blois' second Crusade, Raymond had been the guide of some of the Crusaders; and their misfortunes were attributed to his supposed alliance with the Turks. He had been frequently treacherous to Godfrey. The king with difficulty prevented him from establishing an Imperium in Imperio in Jerusalem. Raymond encouraged the town of Ascalon to hold out against Godfrey when the Christians defeated the Egyptians in the neighbourhood. He also supported the town of Azotus in rebellion; and his last effort of malice, was to persuade many of the barons and soldiers to return to Europe. Mus. Ital. I. 229. Albert, 289. Malmsbury, 475. Villehardouin, 136. In the rugged verse of Robert of Gloucester, and the polished strains of Tasso, the subject of the present note is designated by the same title of virtue. In the one he is called "the erl of Seyne Gyle the gode " Reymond;" and in the other, "il buon Raimondo." But in

CHAP. VII.

Death of the count of Tholouse.

Foundation of the county of Tripoli. June 1109.

queathed his oriental lands to his nephew, William Jordan, count of Cerdagne. Four years afterwards, Bertrand, eldest son of Raymond, conducted some Provençals and a fleet of Genoese and Pisans to the siege of Tripoli. The king of Jerusalem and all the Christian princes in Palestine co-operated with them, and the Egyptians resigned their post. Baldwin erected the city and its territory into a county for the family of the deceased Raymond. Bertrand was declared count to the prejudice of his cousin. Tortosa and some other places were given to the count of Cerdagne; but he died soon after his investiture; and, according to agreement, Bertrand was his successor.*

Tancred found a foe in the lord of Tripoli. The regent of Antioch then seized Tortosa, and gave it to William, a natural son of his crusading companion, Robert duke of Normandy. A cloud of Turks menaced the Latins of Syria. Those who were on the Orontes implored an union of the Christian princes. The union was made, the enemy were defeated; and by magnanimity, not retaliation, Bertrand was revenged on Tancred. But with that quick versatility

Dec. 1111.

in every view this epithet was misapplied: for the count of Provence had not those virtues which endear a man to his equals, or those qualities which conciliate the populace.

* Archb. of Tyre, 795, 801. Bernardus, cap. 96.

satility which distinguished the politics of the states of Palestine, the count of Tripoli soon afterwards assisted the emperor Alexius in his never ceasing wish of stamping the mark of feudal tenure on the principality of Antioch. But he died while the negotiations were pending, and his death rendered them abortive. His son Pontius, whose mother was Alice, daughter of Eudes I. duke of Burgundy, was his successor in the county of Tripoli, and the lordship of Tholouse in France was given to Alphonsus Jordan, son of the celebrated Raymond.*

April 1112.

Death of Tancred.

Before the close of the year 1112, the Christians mourned the death of Tancred. His end was that of a warrior, for he died of a wound which he had received from an enemy. In his last moments, with more disinterestedness than delicacy, he called his wife, and Pontius of Tripoli, before him, and recommended their marriage. As he had no children to emulate his virtues and chivalry, he confided the government of Antioch to his kinsman, Roger, son of Richard, count of Capua, and seneschal of Apulia.†

U 3 Some

* Archb. of Tyre, 806, 807. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 296.

† Archb. of Tyre, 807.

CHAP. VII.

History of Tripoli.

Some years after these events, Pontius, count of Tripoli, turned his arms against the Muselmans; but if the entreaties of the countess for assistance had not prevailed with the king of Jerusalem, the friend of Tancred would have been conquered by Zenghi, sultan of Aleppo, who besieged him in the castle of Barin, or Montferrat. He was doomed, however, to perish by the swords of the Muselmans. The Syrians of Mount Libanus betrayed him into their hands, and he suffered a cruel death. Raymond his successor explored the recesses of Mount Libanus, dragged the treacherous Syrians to Antioch, and massacred them in the view and for the gratification of the people, who had long known and loved Pontius. Palestine again was in arms, for the sultan of Aleppo had attacked Raphania. The king of Jerusalem, and the count of Tripoli, joined their levies, but were defeated; Raymond was taken prisoner, and the king with difficulty saved himself in the neighbouring castle of Barin. All the Latins in Syria united for the defence of Fulk, and even the prince of Antioch quitted his city, though it was menaced by the Greeks. He arrived with the count of Edessa near the castle, but the politic Turk had been apprised of his approach, and had extorted from the exhausted monarch a treaty of peace, whereby the castle was to be delivered

1137.

delivered to Zenghi, and the safety of the king, the liberty of the count of Tripoli, and the restoration of Paneas, or Cesarea Philippi, were to be purchased for fifty thousand pieces of gold.*

Affairs of Antioch. 1102—11.

By splendid offers of favour and treasure to the Armenian prince, Alexius endeavoured to gain the person of Bohemond; but the superior cunning of the Italian prevailed, and Danischmend thought that the alliance of the conquering Latins would be more powerful and useful than that of the inert and feeble Greeks. After two years captivity, Bohemond returned to Antioch, and found that his faithful Tancred had enlarged the state by the addition of the two important cities of Laodicea and Apamea.† Foiled in his endeavours to procure the cession of Antioch as the terms of the liberation of its prince, Alexius demanded at the point of the sword feudal submission from Bohemond. But the Italian answered, that the treaty of Constantinople was reciprocal in its obligations, and that one

* Archb. of Tyre, 852, 888. Ben Latir, i. 550, 558. Paneas appears, more than once, to have belonged to the Christians several years previous to these events. At the time of the treaty it was in the hands of a rebellious emir; but the united Latins and Muselmans soon made him sue for mercy.

† Rad. Cad. p. 329, 330.

CHAP. VII. one party who had neglected and despised its stipulations had no claim on the performance of them by the other. War was then waged between the Greeks and Latins; the imperial arms triumphed by land; but the Pisans, the friends of Bohemond, by their maritime victories, saved the infant state.* Foreign hostility often diverted the Christians from internal tumults, and the princes of Antioch and Edessa would have subjugated the city of Carra † in Mesopotamia, if the question of lordship over it had not occupied their attention when the moment for victory was arrived. But the Turks of Aleppo and Mosul were on the spot before the dispute was closed, and in the battle which ensued, the Muselmans were completely victorious. The prince of Edessa, the archbishop, and Joscelyn de Courtenay, were made prisoners, and Tancred and Bohemond with difficulty

* The important services which the Pisans rendered to the Italians in Antioch, are acknowledged in a treaty between Tancred and the republic, A. D. 1108. By that instrument Tancred conceded to his friends a street in Laodicea, and another in Antioch. Muratori, Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi Dissert. xxx. vol. i. p. 906, and page 291, ante, note.

† Called Haran, in the book of Genesis, and celebrated also as the place near which Crassus was defeated by the Parthians, about half a century before Christ. Dio, lib. iv. c. xxviii. Carra was situated about fourteen miles from Edessa, on the other side of the Euphrates.

culty escaped to Antioch.* The disorder of the Christians in the east was fomented by discord between the king of Jerusalem and the patriarch. It was sacrilegiously thought by Baldwin the first, that the treasures of the church should support the soldiers as well as the monks and the poor. On one occasion, Daimbert was forced to yield, but on a reiteration of the request, he openly charged the king with profanation; and Baldwin was not backward in his sarcasms against the personal licentiousness of Daimbert. The patriarch was driven from Jerusalem, and fled for redress and revenge to the court of Bohemond. But the prince of Antioch was unable, without European succour, to defend himself or others, and Daimbert resolved to fly to the protection of the Vatican. The government was once more confided to the skilful charge of Tancred, and the potentate and churchman sailed from Syria, and soon landed on the Italian shores.† The news of the

* Archb. of Tyre, 792, 3.

† There is a ridiculous story in the Alexiad, that Bohemond caused a report to be spread that he was dead, and that he escaped the Greeks in a coffin. Du Cange very rationally refutes this story, on the arguments of the total silence of the Latin writers, the want of proof that Antioch was surrounded, and that Bohemond could escape by no other means. Alexiad, p. 270, notes, 94.

CHAP. VII. the object of Bohemond's arrival quickly spread, and he was invited to the court of Philip king of France. The fame of his valour had passed from the east to the west, and his presence inspired the adventurous Frenchmen with a generous emulation. The king was proud of marrying one of his daughters to the prince of Antioch, and of betrothing another to the gallant Tancred.* Spain, Italy, and France sent forth their choicest knights, and the favourite of the French monarch sailed from Apulia at the head of five thousand horsemen, and forty thousand foot.† He was accompanied by Daimbert, who after a long sojourn at Rome for Baldwin's accusation of him before the

* The wife of Bohemond was Constantia, widow of Hugh, count of Champagne. Cecilia, her younger sister, became the wife of Tancred. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 571, and p. 293, ante.

† Fulcher (p. 420) says that no women were allowed to go on this crusade, lest they should be expensive and troublesome. "Feminam autem nullam tunc secum transfretare "permisit, ne exercitantibus impedimento et oneri essent." Anna (p. 292) mentions some soldiers in Bohemond's army from Thule; which place, in this instance, many writers suppose meant England. But it is singular, that directly Bohemond's return to Italy was known in Europe, the prudent Henry the First, who was at that time employed in the subjugation of Normandy, forbad his soldiers from entering into the service of the Italian. Ord. Vit. p. 816.

the Holy See, departed with the orders of the Pope for the recovery of the patriarchate.* Bohemond landed at Durazzo, and immediately waged war with Alexius: but the injuries of the Latin cause were terminated by treaty, not by arms. Famine had commenced its work of havoc among the Italians, and the officers were suspected of having received the gold of Alexius. Bohemond preserved his dignity, and would not as an inferior meet the emperor. He insisted, and it was granted, that he might be accompanied into the presence chamber by two knights, and that he should not be compelled to bend the knee or incline the head. He did not, however, require that the emperor should rise on his approaching the throne. The hypocrites vowed perpetual peace, and the Byzantine swore on holy relics that he would ever protect the European pilgrims by sea and land. The largest part of Bohemond's army then took the road for Jerusalem, and the remainder, with the Italian prince himself, returned to Apulia.†

After the death of Tancred, the state was in the

* Archb. of Tyre, 799. Daimbert died, however, in Sicily.

† Fulcher, 419, 420. Archb. of Tyre, 792, 798. Albert, 341, 354. De Guignes, ii. 29. Malmsbury, 472. Alexiad, 270, 329. Bohemond died the next year (A.D. 1109) while preparing to go to Antioch.

CHAP. VII. the hands of his kinsman, Roger, to whom he had bequeathed it. In the year 1119, the regent perished by the swords of the Damascene Saracens; and Baldwin II. annexed Antioch to Jerusalem. But Bohemond, the son of Bohemond and Constantia, arriving in Palestine about the year 1126, claimed his inheritance, was acknowledged lawful prince of Antioch, under the title of Bohemond the second, and sealed his friendship for the king by marrying his daughter Alice.* He lived only five years in the enjoyment of his principality, and at his death his widow aspired to the throne, and not the mere regency of the state. Baldwin repressed the ambition of his daughter; but it appeared again in the reign of his successor, Fulk, and the king of Jerusalem was compelled to march to Antioch. On his road he scattered the army of her friend Pontius, count of Tripoli, and with the aid of the knights of St. John and the Temple, restored peace to Antioch. Fulk gave the principality in charge to the lord of Margat. But dreading the reappearance of the ambition of Alice, he resolved that the child of Bohemond should have a protector, and as there was no unmarried prince in Palestine remarkably eminent for the greatness of

* Fulcher, 888. Ord. Vit. 825.

of his fortune and family, he offered the hand of Constantia, the heiress of Antioch, to Raymond of Poitiers, youngest son of William VII. duke of Aquitain. The friend of Fulk was at the court of Henry the first of England when the ambassadors arrived. So noble a prospect seldom presented itself to the eyes of a young cavalier. He accepted the offer with transport: but as he knew that he had evil to dread from the rivalry of Roger, duke of Apulia, he travelled through Italy on foot, and embarked for Antioch as a simple pilgrim. The patriarch of that city had espoused the side of Alice; but he deserted her when the new lord pledged to him an oath of obedience, and the faithless churchman celebrated the marriage in the cathedral of Antioch.*

In the year 1137, the emperor John Comnenus pursued without opposition his road to Antioch, and drew from Raymond an acknowledgment of the dependance of his principality upon Constantinople. The Greeks, the count of Edessa and Raymond, laid siege to Cesarea; but they failed, in consequence of the indolence† and

* Archb. of Tyre, 852. "Indeed this Constantia was "but a child for age; but they never want years to marry "who have a kingdom for their portion." Fuller, Hist. of the Holy War, book ii. ch. xx.

† According to the Arabic writers, Zenghi instilled the suspicion

CHAP. VII.

and indifference of the Latin princes. The emperor travelled from Cilicia to Antioch, in order to punish the cowards, and entered the city in triumph, with the reins of his horse held by the offenders. Lord of the town, he aspired to the absolute possession of the citadel, but Raymond fomented a disturbance, and the emperor was glad to quit the place, and to retreat to Constantinople. In 1142 he returned into Syria, at the pressing solicitation of the Franks, and drove back a stream of Turkish hostility. He demanded the complete sovereignty over Antioch. The prince sent to him the patriarch and lords, who declared, that even if Raymond and his wife were to resign their authority, the people would elect a new master. The emperor revenged himself by wasting the country, and retired to Cilicia for the winter. He died before he could renew his barbarities.*

History of Edessa. The Courtenays.

Joscelyn de Courtenay was a companion of the earl of Chartres in his second crusade; and, surviving the general misfortunes, he found safety

suspicion into the minds of the Franks, that if the emperor could take a single fortress, he would not be satisfied till he had subjugated all Palestine. Zenghi harassed the rear guard of the retreating army, and then went into Tripoli, and rased the castle of Arca. Ben. Latir. i. 551.

* Archb. of Tyre, 866, 869, 870. Cinnamus, 6, 9.

safety and a principality in Edessa. The marriage of his mother's sister with Baldwin's father made him and Baldwin du Bourg cousins,* and his relation gave him in sovereignty such part, except Samosat, of the Edessene country as laid on this side of the Euphrates.† After five years captivity, the consequence, as we have mentioned,‡ of the Turkish victory at Cara,

* The Courtenay family was of pure French extraction: that is, it came from the Isle of France. A French gentleman, named Athon, about the year 1000, fortified the town of Courtenay. His descendants took their surname from that town. The crusading Courtenay was grandson of Athon, and nephew of Milo de Courtenay, the ancestor of the English branch of the family: his mother was Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of Guy de Montlheri. Lignage d'Outremer, p. 230. Bouchet, Hist. Généal. de la Maison de Courtenay, p. 8. Melesinda, the other daughter of Guy, married Hugh, the first earl of Rethel, father of Baldwin du Bourg. This Baldwin and the grandson of Athon were, therefore, cousins. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, ii. 631. Pharamond, the founder of the French monarchy, was the common patriarch of all the kings of France, of the earls of Boulogne, and of the house of Courtenay. The armorial bearings of the kings of Jerusalem, and of the viscounts Courtenay, are therefore the same, viz. three torteaux, gules, in a field, or. Collins's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 214, new ed.

† Bouchet, p. 8. Cleaveland, Hist. of the Courtenay Family, p. 5.

‡ P. 294, ante.

CHAP. VII. Carra, Baldwin and Joscelyn were ransomed. Tancred had in the mean while administered the affairs of the Courtenay dominions; but was charged with needless delays in resigning his office, and Joscelyn resolved to chastise him. But although the prince of Edessa did not scruple to call in Turkish auxiliaries, yet he could not subdue the regent of Antioch, and friends mediated a reconciliation.

The territories of Joscelyn were better cultivated, and more productive, than those of Baldwin du Bourg, because they were not so much exposed to Turkish inroads: the year 1113 was a period of scarcity on the other side of the Euphrates, and Joscelyn was accused not only of remissness in assisting his friend and cousin, but of a wish to arrogate additiona power. At the request of the count of Edessa, Courtenay repaired to his palace; his benefactor reminded him of the duty of gratitude; had him put to the torture, and extorted a resignation of his territories. Joscelyn then repaired to Jerusalem, and expressed to the king his purpose of returning to Europe: but the monarch was glad of the service of a celebrated general, and secured his allegiance by giving him the lordship of the Tiberiad.* On the

* Archb. of Tyre, 808.

the accession of Baldwin du Bourg, friendship was restored between the cousins, and Courtenay became sole lord of Edessa. He was inferior to none of the brave warriors of his age in repressing the Turks, who were frequently quelled, but never entirely subdued. The mode of his death corresponded with the tenor of his life. He had been wounded in the siege of a castle near Aleppo, and soon after his return to Edessa, he heard that the sultan of Iconium was again in arms. The son of Joscelyn declined to cope with the Moslems, and the ancient hero was carried in a horse litter to the field. The report of his presence terrified the enemy into a retreat, and he expired while giving thanks to God that his very name, the shadow of his old achievements, had produced an effect as powerful as his former valour.*

1132.

The inability of Egypt and Syria to drive back the European invaders, made the Moslems tremble for the existence of their empire and religion, and both fear and policy anxiously looked for the appearance of one of those master spirits, who so often in the east have collected the elements of war, and created the mightiest revolutions. Some years before the Crusades, the Seljukian prince, Malek Shah, bestowed

* Archb. of Tyre, 853.

CHAP.VII. bestowed upon a brave and faithful officer the city of Aleppo, and other valuable gifts.* On the death of Malek, and the consequent dissolution of the great Tartarian monarchy, Ac-sancar rebelled against the family of his benefactor, and was distinguished as one of his most powerful opponents. His death was premature. His son, Zenghi, was educated in the field, and the annals of the Latins in Palestine abound with confessions of his martial prowess.† Mosul was an appendage to the throne of the Seljuks, and it was the universal cry of the Muselmans that Zenghi was the only man who was capable of discharging the functions of emir, and of repelling the aggressors of the west. He was accordingly invested with titles and command, and by a skilful combination of valour and political skill he justified the distinction. The feuds between the count of Edessa and the younger Bohemond, prince of Antioch, were favourable to his grand design of clearing Palestine of Christians: Joscelyn permitted his troops to pass the Euphrates. In the last year of the life of Joscelyn de Courtenay, the power of Zenghi was at a sufficient height to enable him to

* De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 148.

† Under the name of Sanguin, a corruption of his real title.

to attempt the destruction of the Edessene principality. He watched the occasion of the departure of the prince into the territories of Iconium, and pressed forwards to Edessa. As we have already seen, the son of Joscelyn did not inherit his father's military virtues: he abandoned himself to pleasure in the town of Turbessel, and tarnished his princely dignity by the dissipation of amusement and the allurements of passion. Though the time was critical, political rancour held the Antiochians in a cold and disgraceful neutrality. The kingdom of Palestine, indeed, furnished some squadrons, but they were too few, or too tardy, to be of avail. Zenghi surrounded Edessa, his moveable wooden towers overhung the walls, and his soldiers incessantly worked both the battering ram and the mine. For seventeen days the hope of succour from the Latins, the expectation of legions of angels headed by the tutelar saint, and the disgrace of falling into the hands of the infidels sustained the courage of the besieged. But on the eighteenth day the city's walls presented many dreadful breaches, and the Saracens entered. Their heralds proclaimed through the ranks that pillage and conquest went hand in hand. Among the Christian population there appeared the edifying spectacle of the bishops blessing and encourag-

Fall of Edessa.

 ing

CHAP. VII. ing the people, and of the inferior clergy fighting with the troops. But all was lost. The Muselmans prevailed in every quarter, and the slaughter of men, women and children, which they made, was as direful as the resistance of the Christian soldiers had been firm. At the altars, in the houses, as well as in the streets, the Saracens plunged their swords into the hearts of the young and the old, the clergy and the laity. Sometimes the cruelty of the conquerors took a new character, and appeared in acts of insult. The priests were condemned to slavery, and an Armenian bishop, stripped of his robes, was dragged through the public streets, and beaten with rods. The churches were plundered, and it seemed difficult to determine whether from love of pillage, or of profanation.*

1145. Vain attempt to recover it.

In a war with a Muselman prince, Zenghi was assassinated. His sons, Saphadin and Noureddin, divided the empire; the former became emir of Mosul, the latter lord of the more powerful state of Aleppo. The death of the old warrior inspired his foes with the hope of recovering the valuable province of Edessa. While

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 891–3. By the command of the caliph of Bagdad, thanksgivings to Heaven were offered in all the mosques of Islamism for this great victory; and Zenghi was prayed for on Friday.

While Noureddin was fixing his power in Aleppo, the Christians in Edessa and Joscelyn in Turbessel held communications. The count collected some troops, passed the Euphrates, and presented himself in the middle of the night at the foot of the city's walls; when his friends admitted the band, and the Muselman garrison took refuge in the citadel. While the fate of Edessa was in suspence, Noureddin heard the news, and flew to turn the scale. The Latin soldiers, surrounded by the foe, had only the forlorn hope of fighting their way. The citizens accompanied them, and after their departure from the city, the garrison quitted the fortress, and the soldiers of Noureddin their camp. The miserable fugitives were attacked in front and rear, and but few of them escaped the Moslem sabre. Edessa was recovered by the Turks,* and Noureddin immediately rased the fortifications and demolished the churches.

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 893–899. Ben Latir, I. 555.

CHAP. VIII.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF JERUSALEM, AND OF THE CHIVALRIC INSTITUTIONS IN PALESTINE.

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem......The government monarchical......Coronation forms...... Officers of state......Church establishment......Territorial division, and military strength of the kingdom ......Tenure of land......Relation of a lord and his man......State of women......Debtor and creditor ......Courts of justice......Trial by battle......Villains and slaves......Religious and military orders ......The knights of St. John......The Templars ......The knights of St. Lazarus.

On the civil history of the kingdom of Jerusalem the mind reposes itself with pleasure, after the contemplation of those scenes of misery and horror which the first holy war exhibited. Of themselves too, the constitution and laws of the great European state in Palestine form a rich and important subject, inasmuch as they reflect life and manners,* and are a part of those feudal institutions

* Mens et animus et consilium et sententia civitatis posita est in legibus. Cicero pro Cluentio.

institutions which have been the basis of the public reason and civil jurisprudence of the modern kingdoms of Europe.*

Principles of the constitution of Jerusalem.

Godfrey was an elected king; and we have seen that his two immediate successors owed their crowns rather to personal merit and intrigue than to principles of hereditary succession. But after the death of Baldwin du Bourg, the foundation of the constitution appears to have been settled; and the Latin state of Jerusalem may be regarded as a feudal hereditary monarchy. There were two chief lords of the kingdom, namely, the patriarch and the king, whose cognizance extended over spiritual and temporal affairs.† The king's becoming qualities were justice, sagacity, courage, generosity, eloquence, and courtesy; all knit together in the virtues of truth and honour. His subjects were to obey and love him, rather on account of his actions than of his rank.‡ The salic institutions

The government monarchical.

* The code of laws of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem has not been much studied by legal writers. Even Montesquieu rarely refers to it. But it is difficult to conceive that a knowledge, complete in all its parts, of the feudal law can be gained, without the study of a system which certainly must be considered as one of its branches.

† Assises, ch. 315, 287. For an account of the assizes of Jerusalem, see note K.

‡ Assises, ch. 282. "Nus n'est tenus a prodhome par sa "dignité,

CHAP. VIII.

tutions influenced the laws of succession; and accordingly males were preferred to females, though the consanguinity of the latter might be nearer than that of the former.* The monarch was ordinarily crowned by the patriarchs at Jerusalem; but at Tyre, when the holy city was in the hands of the infidels. In the church of the sepulchre the king swore to protect religion, to do justice, and to govern the people agreeably to the laws and customs of the realm. The patriarch exclaimed, "and I will assist you;" and placed the crown on his head. He then thrice called on the prelates, knights, and other liegemen and burgesses, to declare whether the person whom they were assembled to enthrone were the true heir of the kingdom. On the giving of answers in the affirmative, the hymn 'Te Deum laudamus' was sung; and having entered the choir with his barons, who bore the crown and the apple, the seneschal with the sceptre, and the constable with the standard, the king was clad in the royal robe. The patriarch poured many blessings on his head; the king seated himself on the throne, and mass began.

Coronation forms.

"dignité, mais par ses ouvres." There is "nothing barba-"rous" in this doctrine. It makes subjects loyal and kings virtuous.

* Assises, ch. 282, 286, 308.

began. In the course of the service, he was anointed. Two prelates then presented him with a ring, denoting royalty; a sword, representing justice, for the defence of himself and the holy church; a crown, the sign of dignity; a sceptre, the mark of power; and an apple, the emblem of the land of the kingdom itself; repeating at the same time, say the Assises, the usual form of words. The prelates and barons cried aloud, 'long live the king;' and the king kissed the churchmen. The sacrament of the holy communion was administered, and the patriarch blessed the royal standard. The monarch offered his crown on the altar where our Lord had been offered by Simeon; and afterwards went to the temple of Solomon, which was the house of the knights Templars, and took refreshment; and the burgesses of Jerusalem paid homage, and attended upon the king.*

Officers of state.

The great officers of the crown were the seneschal, the constable, the marshal, and the chamberlain. The general duties of the first of these ministers, were the superintendance of the fortresses, and the regulation of the estates and the household of the crown. On the day of the coronation he held the sceptre, while the standard was borne at different times by the constable

* Assises, ch. 287, 288.

CHAP. VIII.

stable and the marshal. The constable had the management of all matters respecting judicial combats. The marshal did the duties of the constable in his absence. On the morning of the coronation, the chamberlain laid the robes of state in the chamber of the king. During the ceremony he carried the sword: and at the repast he presented water to the king when commanded by the seneschal. The presenting of a person also who wished to pay homage was another part of his duty; and the robes of the vassal were his reward.*

Church establishment.

The patriarch of Jerusalem had five suffragan archbishops, namely, those of Tyre, Cesarea, Nazareth, Beiksereth, and Philadelphia: the last of these prelacies, in the time of Almeric, was given up, and Karac or Montreal was established in its stead. The patriarch had also three suffragan bishops, Lidda, Bethlehem, and Bron; one prior, and six suffragan abbots, five of whom bore the mitre, cross, and ring, the remaining abbot carried the cross only, and the prior had the mitre and the ring. There were also three suffragan abbesses. The archbishops of Tyre, Cesarea, and Nazareth, had suffragan bishops; but Philadelphia, and Beiksereth,

* Assises, 289-292. The four great official honours were hereditary, as in most feudal countries of Europe.

CHAP. VIII.

sereth, had none, because those places were but for a short time in the hands of the Latins.* The archbishop of Montreal had a suffragan bishop, called the bishop of Mount Sinai. The bishop of Lidda had five suffragran bishops, and the bishop of Acre two.†

Territorial division and military strength of the kingdom.

There were four chief baronies of the kingdom, and many other lordships which had the privilege of administering justice, coining money, and, in short, most of those powers and prerogatives which the great and independent nobility of Europe possessed. The first chief barony comprised the counties of Jaffa and Ascalon, and the lordships of Ramula, Mirabel, and Ibelin. The second was the principality of Galilee. The third included the lordships of Sajetta, Cesarea, and Nazareth: and the fourth was the county of Tripoli.‡ The court of each of

* Assises, chap. 320, 316.

† Assises, 316, 323. Like the clergy of the west, the clergy of Palestine were supported by tithes. The reader must be astonished at what Fuller pleasantly calls, "the "numerosity of Palestine bishops." The same quaint writer observes, "Bishops were too thickly set for all to grow "great; and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to "have them generally fat." "Surely many of these bi-"shops," to use bishop Langham's expression, "had high "racks, but poor mangers." Fuller's Holy War, book ii. ch. ii.

‡ Some people contended that Karac or Montreal was the

CHAP. VIII.

of these four eminent baronies had its constable and marshal, and the barons could not, like other freemen, be judged by the supreme court of the kingdom; but each baron, for any offence touching his life, his estate, or honour, was to be judged by his peers, namely, the other three barons.* This last privilege gave them such power and liberty, that if it had not been for the obligation of military service, the aristocracy would have overshadowed the monarchy. But the dignity of these four great barons is shewn by the number of knights which they were obliged to furnish, compared with the contributions of other nobles. Each of the three first barons was compelled to aid the king with five hundred knights. The service of Tripoli was performed by two hundred knights; that of the other baronies by one hundred and eighty-three knights.† Six hundred and sixty-six knights were

the fourth barony: but the editor of the Assises denies it. Edessa and Antioch are never mentioned as being, in any manner, dependent on the kingdom.

* Ibelin refutes the idea that the constable and marshal of the kingdom could judge these four great lords. Assises, c. 324.

† The compiler of the Assises appears to labour under some want of information respecting the services of most of the baronies. He gives a list of the baronies which had the privilege of high courts of justice, but he mentions only a few

were the total number furnished by the cities of Jerusalem, Naplousa, Acre, and Tyre.* The churches and the commercial communities of every part of the kingdom provided five thousand and seventy-five serjeants or serving men.†

Tenure of land.

The king could grant both proper and improper fiefs out of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with or without service, to clergy and to laity. The tenants of the crown might sell their fiefs, and create

few of them when he comes to speak of the state of military service.

* Sanutus (p. 173) mentions these four cities as forming the property of the king.

† Assises, ch. 324, 331. The military serjeants fought both on horseback and on foot, under some chief, and they were distinguished from the soldier or stipendiary warrior, because they served in consequence of feudal tenure. Bearing in mind the fact, that, according to the custom of the age, each knight must have had at least three men at arms, the military strength of the country was nominally about twelve thousand men. But, according to Sanutus, it only consisted of five hundred and eighteen knights, and four thousand seven hundred and seventy-five serjeants. The authority of Sanutus cannot be put in competition with that of the Assises. It is probable, however, that he speaks of some actual muster when the kingdom was reduced by perpetual wars. In the battle of Tiberias there were twelve hundred cavaliers, and twenty thousand men on foot, armed with the long and cross bow. On that occasion there was a sort of levy *en masse* in the country. The military friars and the red-cross knights were also included in the review.

CHAP. VIII.

create new tenants for themselves, subject to feudal services. But subinfeudation was checked by the law forbidding the dismemberment of a fief which owed only the service of one knight: and if any alienation were made without the consent of the lord, and against the customs of the country, then the land became forfeited to the lord. Fiefs could be given to heirs special as well as heirs general; to heirs male or female. In every instance of equality of claim in respect of heirship, the heir male was preferred to the female. In case of total failure of issue, the land reverted to the lord.* Fiefs were of rents, of pensions of money, as well as of land. In cases where a man bought or acquired land from a lord, he could not swear fealty without a reservation of the claims and services to his first lord: and, consequently, when a man was tenant of several lords, he was obliged, in the event of war between those lords, to aid the first lord against the others. No unmarried woman, no son of a knight under the age of fifteen years, could purchase a fee, because women were incapable of performing feudal services,

* In the Assises, fees in rents, &c. are called fié en besans, or fief de sodoier: the last title on account of pecuniary remuneration for military services. The possessors of these fiefs were called solidarii, to distinguish them from the milites.

services, and minors were not competent witnesses in courts of justice.*

Relation of a lord and his man.

When a man did homage to the chief lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem, or any other lord, he knelt before him, and put his hands between the lord's knees, and said, "Sire, I become "your liegeman for such a fief, and I promise "to guard and defend you against all people." The lord answered, "I receive you, and your "lands I will defend as my own:" and he then kissed his tenant on the mouth, as a pledge of faith. This homage could not be made to a lord who was not a member of the kingdom of Jerusalem, without the man reserving the allegiance which he owed to his former lord: but this exception was implied, and not expressed, when the second lord was a baron of Jerusalem, because all the barons and their tenants were liegemen of the king, according to the principles of the constitution, and were obliged to take

* Assises, c. 145, 147, 155, 152, 153, 183, 185, 192, 195, 222, 198. Plebeians could not purchase fiefs, because such people were incapable of performing military services. This regulation was common in all countries subject to the feudal law. The first instance of a departure from it was in the year 1289, when king Philip granted to the viscount of Turenne the privilege of rendering the *ignobiles* capable of holding fiefs. Thaumassiere's note on ch. 198 of the Assises.

CHAP. VIII.

take to him the oath of allegiance;* and consequently the arrière vassals were bound to the lord.† If in the day of battle the man gave his horse and arms to his dismounted lord; if he became his hostage, and sold his fief for the ransom of his lord; then the lord was bound to the reciprocal duty of assisting and redeeming his man. Both the lord and his man were obliged to be each other's securities, as far as the value of the tenant's fief, and the lord was compelled to compensate his man for any injury which he might have sustained in consequence of having been bound for him. If the ransom of the lord were so great that the tenants could not collect a sufficient sum of money, they were obliged to tax their fiefs one besant, or one piece

* The difference between homage to the sovereign and homage to the baron, that is, between liege homage and simple homage, seems to have been, that the former obliged the man to personal service in war, and the latter might be paid by deputy.

† This fact accords with the genuine and early principles of feudalism. But it is certain, that during the existence of the kingdom of Jerusalem, a different practice prevailed through Europe, and the *arrere* vassals held only of the immediate lord, and owed no homage or oath to the lord paramount. The lord of Joinville personally respected St. Louis, yet refused to take an oath to him, on account of the dependency of the lordship of Joinville on the county of Champagne.

piece of gold per cent. As a last resource, in case of there being in the lordship any woman who had no presumptive heir, but whose fief would revert to the lord, then her husband was obliged to sell the property, in order to complete the ransom; and the lord, at his return, was bound to give to the husband and wife an equivalent during their lives.*

In case of an altercation between the chief lord of the kingdom and a baron, the men of the baron were to advise the latter to have the cause decided by the supreme court; and threaten to make war upon him if he did not. If the chief lord promised him personal safety, he went to court with his men, who supported and counselled him on the hearing of his cause. But if the lord persisted in not having his cause adjudged by the supreme court, then the men might leave him, and go on horseback, and armed, to the chief lord, or by such other service as they owed him.† If a vassal had been imprisoned

* Assises, ch. 273.

† Assises, ch. 205—209. The circumstance mentioned in the text is another proof of the personal connection between the sovereign and the arrere vassal, and of the monarchical nature of the government. Thus in chapter 222, it is said, "Se un home a plusiors seigneurs il peut sans mesprendre "de sa foy aider son premier seigneur, pourceque il est "devenu home des autres sauve sa loiauté, et aussi peut il "aider

CHAP. VIII.

imprisoned without the sentence of the court, the tenants should demand his person from the lord, and request that he might be tried by his peers. If the lord did not deliver him, or give such a reason for his detention as might be satisfactory to the court, then the court might go to the prison, and deliver him by force or otherwise, so that the lord himself was not hurt, for against him they could not carry arms. If the lord persisted in keeping him in prison, then the chief lord should interfere, and do justice. If the lord dispossessed a tenant without the judgment of the court, or did a wrong of any description, the men of the court were to demand that the cause should be legally decided; and if the lord refused such demand, then the noble principles of natural equity declared, that the men of the court were not obliged to do him service, until he had done justice.* The life and

" aider â chascun des autres, sauf le premier, et sauf ceaus " â qui il a fait homage avant que â celuyaque il vodra " aider." There is no provision in the assises for the case of a lord paramount refusing to do justice. By the ordonnances of St. Louis an arrere vassal was not obliged to aid his immediate lord if the lord paramount offered to do justice; but if the lord paramount refused to do justice, then the arrere vassal was compelled to aid his immediate lord: and we know that the subjects of the English kings in France constantly aided their immediate lords in he national wars between England and France.

* Assises, ch. 211, 214, 219, 253.

and property of a tenant were, after sentence of the court, at the mercy of the lord, if the tenant failed in his duty of protecting and redeeming his master, or if he violated the person of his lord's daughter, or of his sister, while she lived unmarried in his house. If the tenant attainted his lord in court of breach of the oath of fealty, the court would decide, that the tenant should, for the remainder of his life, hold his fee free from service.* At the summons of the lord, the tenant, armed, and on horseback, should attend him, or should go without him, both in and beyond the kingdom, for the term of a year, on the occasions either of the marriage of the lord,† or the lord's daughter; or to defend the honour of the lord, or for the general good of the kingdom. The man was obliged to attend the court of his lord, to assist him with opinions, and to be counsel for any body, according to the lord's appointment, if he were not previously the adversaries' counsel; and should make such inquests into private wrongs and events, as the lord should direct. Thus the duties of warriors

 and

* Assises, ch. 217.

† Lord Coke mentions the liability of tenants by knight's service, "to go with the king's daughter beyond sea to be "married." "There is a voyage royall of peace and amity, "as well as a voyage royall of war." Co. Litt. lib. ii. c. iii. s. 95, 69, b.

CHAP. VIII.

and judges were the duties of the men of the lord. Every man should be summoned to court by people of his own rank.* Default of service was punished by the loss of the fee for life. But cavaliers above the age of sixty, or evidently incapable of battle, were exempt: the lord took their arms and horse instead.† In cases of wrong doing, the lord and court of the wrong doer should decide, and where the wrong doer was the man of a lord that did not hold a court, then the king was the judge.‡

If a man were vassal to another by gift, he could resign to his lord possession of the fief, and that action absolved him from his feudal duties; but were he in possesion of a fief by inheritance, the consent of the lord to the resignation was required. But it does not appear that in any case he could rid himself of his duty of allegiance to his sovereign.§

State of women.

As on the one hand the rights of women were preserved, and on the other the kingdom was in need of a military force, so the law required that every heiress should marry, and that her husband

* Assises, ch. 230. When the tenant went out of the kingdom on his lord's affairs, the lord furnished him with necessaries.

† Assises, ch. 233, 241.

‡ Assises, ch. 259.

§ Assises, ch. 272.

husband should perform the feudal duties.* If she did not marry, or shew some satisfactory reason for refusal, the lord might enjoy her property as that of a tenant who neglected his duty. A damsel forfeited her inheritance if she married without the consent of the lord; but if he did not provide her with a husband, she might in open court † require him to present to her three men,

* Sanutus (p. 174) is very unwilling to allow thatwomen should succeed to fiefs in Palestine. He adds, " deberent " etiam in terra hostibus circumdata cuncta esse virilia et " virtuosa: cum vero femina dominatur, tota curia quasi " effeminata efficitur."

† The age when the young lady might make this modest demand was twelve. That too was the age (as fifteen was that of males) when she might require from her guardian the uncontrolled management of her estate. Assises, ch. 167, 170, 190. The mother was guardian of the person and estate of the infant, and, if there was no mother, then the next heir supplied her place, ch. 188. " Le pere ou la " mere doit avoir le bailliage de l'escheete de ses enfans, et " que nul autre que pere ou mere ne doit avoir ne tenir " bailliage de fié se le fié ne li peut eschier se il mesavient " de l'enfant merme d'aage à qui le fié est escheu, et par- " quoi l'ont requiert le bailliage; et le plus droit heir doit " avoir le bailliage de celui fié devant tous les autres heirs se " il le requiert." If the heiress was more than sixty years of age, she was not obliged to marry: for as the Assises gravely say, " il est bien sure chose et verable que mariage " ne fut establi pour multuplier le siecle sans pechié, et le " est bien chose au tens que Court orés, et qui a correu lonc " tems a, que feme qui a passé soixante ans se a perdu sa " porure

CHAP. VIII.

men, for her selection of one; and if the lord did not comply with the requisition, her subsequent choice in marriage was uncontroulable by the will of the lord. The widow's dowry was a moiety of her husband's estate for life, and also a moiety of his chattels; but if those chattels were not sufficient to pay his debts, the widow and the heir were obliged to contribute to the necessity in equal moieties.*

Debtor and creditor.

If a debtor were not a knight, he might be imprisoned till the debt was paid, unless he swore that all his property consisted of his garment, and the curtains to his bed; and in that case the creditor might keep him as his slave. Knights could not be put into prison, or sold to slavery; but their goods belonged to their creditors, and, contrary to the original principles of feudal law, their lands also were the property of the creditors. If the lands of a person not a knight were insufficient for the payment of his debts, and if no gage were given for the payment

" porure selonc nature, si seroit bien contre Dieu et contre " raison de contreindre la de prendre baron contre son gré."

* Assises, ch. 180, 187, 247, 248, 271, 242, 244. A moiety of the inheritance was also the widow's dower, by the Coutumes de Beauvoisis, p. 85. This was the general custom in France; but, in Guienne and Angouleme, and other countries which had commercial and various connections with England, the dowry was a third.

ment of the remainder within a year and a day, the lord was obliged, at the request of the creditor, to imprison the debtor.*

Courts of justice.

Reason and justice attempted to soften the military spirit of the age, and to preserve private rights by public care. Two secular courts were established in Jerusalem; one was stiled the supreme court, in which the king was justiciary, and the other the court of burgesses,† where his officer, called a viscount, presided. The lords, too, of most of the baronies, and such of the clergy as were secular peers, had also their courts of burgesses and justice. So many of the inhabitants of Palestine had originally been Italian merchants, that the state of society in the holy land was not so absolutely feudal as that in many countries in Europe. The judges of the supreme court were knights who had sworn homage to the king; the judges of the other courts were wise and loyal citizens; and the causes of knights and burgesses could be heard only in their respective courts. But the ecclesiastics were allowed to decide all matters relating to birth,

 marriage,

* Assises, ch. 118, 119, 199.

† Nobles and plebeians always had different judges. The former were judged by their peers; the latter, by the mayor and seniors of the city. Beaumanoir, ch. 67.

CHAP. VIII.

marriage, and wills; and consequently most questions, purely civil, were in some measure subject to clerical decision. Every barony had also its court for the administration of justice among the feudal tenants: and as long as the assise law was the general code of the country, the Syrians and other Christians who had been established in Palestine before the crusades, were allowed to be judged by their own customary law, and had their own officers in the court.* The judges were exhorted to do justice, unbiassed by fear, hatred, praise, or reward. The advocates were to offer nothing but truth in their pleadings. Truth also was to be clothed in courteous phraseology, and the virtue of secresy was a great part of their duty.† As no man, say the Assises, can plead his own cause so well as that of another, every suitor was advised to apply to the justiciary for permission to have counsel:

* Assises, ch. 2, 5, 22. The Franks must have willingly conceded this privilege; for diversities of codes of laws had been very common in the new kingdoms which the barbarians of the north had founded in the south of Europe: and different jurisdictions were common in the twelfth century.

† The Assises are silent on the question whether their advocates were paid for their services. "Li advocats puet "penre salaire" is the language of the Coutumes de Beauvoisis, p. 15.

counsel: one would be named at the discretion of the judge, the other at the request of the party. The advocates were to be men who owed fealty to the lord, and who assisted him with their judgments. Counsel would never be assigned to a man who commenced his suit contrary to manifest justice, and the advice of the court. In causes between the lord and his vassal, the lord could only have two counsel; but when his antagonist was not his vassal, the number of his counsel was unlimited, while that of his antagonist was confined to two.* As all the members of the court owed allegiance to the lord, they could not assist a stranger in his suit against the lord and his men without the leave of their superior. Causes were prosecuted and defended by *vivâ voce* pleadings. In case of the absence of a man against whom another had a suit, the lord was requested to summon him to the court by the banier, or by three of his men.† If the defendant could not exculpate himself, he might defer the cause by positively denying the debt, and pledging himself that the assertion could be proved by the testimony of two

* Assises, ch. 8–20.

† Assises, ch. 23, 28. The serjeant, or attendant on the court, who made proclamations and banns, was called le banier or bannerius.

CHAP. VIII.

two Christians of the church of Rome,* who were not at that time in Palestine; but who would in a short period return to the holy land, and by declaration or battle, whichever might be necessary, give ample proof of the injustice of the accusation. The court then would grant him the delay of a year and a day, and the nature of the action would be put into writing. If at that time the guarantees did not appear, the defendant was compelled to pay the debt; and if it should be proved that he had perjured himself, or said any thing which he knew to be false, he was attainted of falsity uttered in court, and could never again be received as a witness.† If the dispute had been raised respecting lands and houses within a town, and the defendant could prove that he had held them unmolested a year and a day, then his heritage

* In the high court two Christian witnesses were necessary for proof of age and lineage; and those witnesses might be either men or women; c. 67. Witnesses could not be taken from the perjured, traitors, bastards, slaves, those whose champions had been vanquished in battle, renegates, men who had served a year and a day with the Saracens against the Christians. The profession of the Roman Catholic religion was necessary in a witness. The testimony of priests and women was excluded, except to the simple facts of age and lineage: persons under fifteen years of age could not bear witness, ch. 70.

† Assises, ch. 35, 49. ch. 36—38, 53.

ritage could not be challenged, except in certain cases, and particularly where the demandant was a minor or absent. The court had always the power of adjourning a cause at their own will, or the request of either party, and if on the adjournment day either party did not come before sun-set, or at least before the stars appeared, it was determined that the defaulter had lost his cause. The same event would befal him if he did not answer to the claim, or demand delay, except indeed he denied the cause of action, and no proof was given of its justice. In cases where a man was disseised, he might within forty days state his grievance to the lord, who, on the evidence of two or three men whom he sent to make the inquest, would reinstate the tenant in possession; and would in open court* warn the disseisor against a repetition of the act, who, if guilty again, should be at the mercy of the lord as a criminal guilty of force and violence. The request of the disseisee to the lord must have been made within forty days, unless sickness, imprisonment, or absence prevented it. If made within that time, the

* The number of men that formed a court varied. Thaumassiere, in p. 373, in a note under Beaumanoir, mentions a case when four were enough. The customs of Paris seem to prescribe two persons as the number to make an inquest on a civil case. Brodeau sur l'art. 3 de la Cout. de Paris.

CHAP. VIII.

the lord would of his own authority redress his tenant's wrongs, and the disseisin was then called novel. A delay beyond forty days was construed into a contempt of the lord, and the tenant could in that case only have his remedy by action.*

The crimes which took the inheritance of a fief from heirs were heresy and apostacy† in the ancestor, laying violent hands on the lord, and openly daring him in the field, or delivering him to an enemy; or being vanquished in, or not answering to an appeal of treason, or in case of treason proved by witnesses. The same punishment followed the letting of an estate to an enemy without leave of the lord; except indeed the tenant of the fee could allege poverty as his reason.‡ The loss of the fee for life was the consequence of refusing homage, or the call to arms, or of breach of faith to the lord, or of declining an appeal of murder or homicide. But in these instances the lord had the privilege of pardon. Some inferior cases of disobedience to the lord were punished by the loss of the fee for a year and a day. But the fief could never be

* Assises, ch. 63.

† In cases of apostacy the criminal was to be burned. If he were tenant of an estate in right of his wife, it would revert to her and her heirs, and not to the lord, ch. 274.

‡ Assises, ch. 201.

be taken from a man without a decree of the court.*

Trial by battle.

The most common mode of determining the merit both of civil actions and criminal processes, was the Trial by Battle. The origin of this mode of decision was coeval with the rudest beginnings of society, when all considerations were personal, and revenge was the object of punishment. The general benefits of national communities were not known; public interests had not superseded private feelings; and it was thought to be no violation of duty to his country, for a warrior to despise the decisions of civil magistracy. When the people of Europe became Christians, they considered that God was the immediate and active judge of human events,† and that Heaven would support or confound the man who truly or falsely took an oath of his own

* Assises, ch. 202, 206. The coutoumier of Beauvoisis says, that if the lord seized the land of his vassal without the decree of the court, he was obliged to reinstate him before he could compel him to answer in court, ch. 2.

† Dante, it should seem, was on this subject not above his age; for he was of opinion that the judgment of God might be procured by single combat. De Monarchia, p. 51, &c. Opere, tom. v. Venez. 1760. For the extent of the practice of judicial duels among the early nations of Europe, see the thirty-ninth Dissertation of Muratori, in the third volume of the Antiquitates Italiæ Med. Ævi.

CHAP. VIII.

own innocence. As this custom of allowing negative proofs was connected with the duties of religion, it was encouraged by the clergy; while the proud nobility were equally zealous in their wish of maintaining their rights by the sword. Among military nations the trial by battle prevailed over the ordeal, and other appeals to heavenly interposition; and the Franks carried the warlike custom into Palestine. The causes which were to be tried by battle, and which could not be decided by the court without it, were murder, treason, apparent homicide, quarrels respecting a mark of silver or more, improper language from a feudatory to his lord, and of all other things which concerned life, members, and right honour.* In civil cases, if the

* Assises, ch. 81: "les choses de que il y a bataille par "l'assise ou l'usage dou royaume de Jerusalem dequoi l'on "ne se peut deffendre par esgart ou par connoisance de "court sans bataille—." According to the customs of the Beauvoisis, the judge often decided from the notoriety of the fact, and without witnesses or battle. Beaumanoir, p. 308, 239, 322, 324. "It would be a hard thing," says Beaumanoir, "that if any one had killed my near relation "in open day, before many creditable persons, I should "be compelled to fight in order to prove his death." "This reflection," as Mr. Hallam remarks, "is the dictate "of common sense, and shews that the prejudice in favour "of judicial combats was dying away." Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 109. The Christians in Palestine seem to have been more

the defendant could not invalidate the testimony of the plaintiff's witnesses, he might openly declare him to be false and perjured, and that he would prove him a dead man or recreant in some hour of the day.* He then exclaimed, "behold my gage," and delivered it on his knees to the lord: the other party did the like; and the lord, on his mutual charge of falsehood,† appointed

more barbarous than their brethren in the west. We do not read in the Assises of the liberty of paying a fine as a compensation for injuries. The satisfying of resentment by money instead of blood, is the first step which a rude people make to the formation of an equitable judicial system.

* "En une oure dou jour." Mr. Kendall (p. 94. n. of his learned tract on the Appeal of Murder) inquires, whether this expression means "forthwith," or "at any time," or "in the twinkling of an eye." The expression is similar to that of Bracton, "unâ horâ diei." The challenged person was declared conqueror if the battle lasted until night.

† "This done, the honour of each party is at stake; and "the principle that a brave man utters nothing which he is "not able to defend with his body, is that upon which the "weapons are raised." Kendall, p. 91. In chivalric encounters, as well as in judicial combats, one great object of battle was the support of truth and honour.

Soggiunse poi Rinaldo: Ciò ch'io provo
Col testimonio, io vo' che l'arme sieno,
Che ora, e in ogni tempo che ti piace,
Te n' abbiano a far provo più verace.

Orlando Furioso, canto 31, st. 102.

CHAP. VIII.

appointed a day for the battle.* In cases of the pledge being offered by a knight to a common person, the battle was to be fought on foot; because the appellant ought to follow the defendant in his law; and it would be unjust for a cavalier to fight on horseback a ma who was on foot.† The counsel for the parties then informed the lord, that the several witnesses would be ready at the appointed day to prove the rights of their respective friends.

The appeal of murder, that is to say, the call to battle, must have been answered when made by husband or wife, persons connected in consanguinity and affinity, godsons and daughters, godfathers and mothers, the countrymen of the murdered person if he were a new pilgrim, all his fellow passengers in the ship, all those who had been in his company within a year and a day before the murder, all his feudatories, and if he were a member of any society, then all his brethern. But the lord could not receive a gage of battle from a father against a son, or a son against a father; or from one brother against another brother.‡ Murder was defined to be the

* In an appeal of murder or of homicide, the battle was fought on the third day; in all other cases on the fortieth.

† Assises, ch. 73.

‡ It is not expressed, but it is most probable that a gage might be accepted between two brothers of the half blood. Rela tion

the slaying of a man by night, or in his sleep, whether within or without a town; and he who wished to make an appeal of murder, should carry the dead body before the house of his lord, or to the place appointed for such purposes; and the lord, at the request of his counsel, should send three men, one as his representative, and two in the name of the court, to view the body. If they brought in a verdict that the dead man had been murdered, the lord, at the request of him who had appealed, confined the suspected murderer and his accessaries. If the accused person owned the murder, he was hanged; but if he denied the murder, the lord confined him; and if no appeal were made in a year and a day, he was released. He who wished to make an appeal of murder of any person who had been murdered, and shewn to the court, should proclaim in court by his counsel, "Sire (addressing himself to the lord), "such a man declares that such a man (both "parties being in court) is a murderer; and if "he denies it, he (the appellant) is ready to "prove it, his own body against his; he will "either slay him or make him call for mercy, "in

Relations in that degree of affinity might wage private war against each other, though brothers of the full blood might not. Beaumanoir, p. 299.

"in some hour of the day." He then on his knees presented his gage to the lord. The same ceremony took place when the appeal was made by a champion. In that case the appellant was in the unhappy predicament, that if he did not bring his champion at the appointed day, he himself was attainted of murder. If in an appeal the appellant charged the appellee with murdering a man, and of giving him blows which caused his death, the appellee's counsel might object that this was joining two charges, viz. murder and homicide; and the appellee should be dismissed.

Gages were delivered in homicide. But before the battle, the appellant must have proved his charge by two witnesses. Until their appearance in court, the appellee was imprisoned. After their appearance, and having sworn to the fact, they, together with the appellant and appellee, were confined. On the day of battle the ceremonies were nearly the same as in a case of murder. But it was almost impossible to conclude an appeal of homicide, because the appellee might object to the person of any witness; which objections might be repeated against the witnesses who were brought in defence of the first witness; and thus the cause could never be decided. Though the law encouraged battle in cases of murder, but not in those of homicide,

yet

yet a seeming facility was given to duels for the latter crime, because, if the deceased fell by many wounds, the person entitled to make appeal, might appeal for as many battles as there were wounds.* In cases where treason was not apparent, the lord was not obliged to accept the gage of the appellant. The tenant might have battle with his lord if his statement that his lord had failed in giving him protection, or in the performance of any other feudal obligation, was unopposed:† and if any man appealed against a tenant for any wrong done to the lord, the appellant was to declare the charge and offer the gage. The tenant denied the offence, and then gave his gage to the lord, who appointed a day of battle. The knights in appeals of murder and homicide were to fight on foot.‡ The heads, both of the appellant and appellee, were to be shaven; their coif, or skull cap, was to be taken off; they were to have red buskins, and a red coat of arms, or garment, reaching to the knees. Their bucklers were to be large, with eyelet holes. The

 weapons

* Assises, ch 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 110. † Ibid. 95-99.

‡ In an appeal to battle for other crimes than murder, the parties, if knights, fought on horseback. The general ceremonies in France respecting battle strongly resemble those in Palestine. See Houard, Anciennes loix des Francois, vol. i. p. 265—267.

weapons of each combatant were one lance, and also two swords, one of which should be attached to his side, and the other to the shield. On the morning of the day of combat, between six and nine o'clock,* the parties repaired to the house of the lord and presented their arms, which the lord examined,† and then sent into the place of combat. The knights were sworn that they carried with them no charms or sorceries, and that they had not been instrumental in injuring their adversaries by similar means.‡ In the place of combat the defendant knelt, and, placing his right hand on the Testament, swore before God and the holy evangelists, that he did not commit the murder of which he was accused. The appellant said that he lied; and then swore on the Gospels that the appellee did

* Entre prime et tierce, c. 102.

† Particularly whether the lances were of the same length.

‡ An oath similar to this was among "the sacred laws of "arms" in all countries. Thus in the time of Richard II. the duke of Hereford, the appellant against the duke of Norfolk, swore that he dealt with no witchcraft, nor art magic, whereby he might obtain the victory of his adversary; nor had about him any herb or stone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians use to triumph over their enemies. Hollingshead, p. 1100. See too the laws of the Lombards, book 2. tit. 55. sec. 11. cited in Montesquieu, L'Esprit des Lois, livre 28. c. 22.

did commit the murder. The combatants were placed in their stations, and proclamation was made that no one should assist them. If the body of the murdered person were brought into court, it was placed in one part of the field all naked, and if the battle was to be fought by champion, the appellant should stand near the body; but in such a manner that nothing which he said or did could be heard or seen by the combatants. The keepers of the court watched the battle. If either party uttered the word 'recreant,' the other was called upon to pause; the recreant knight was taken to the lord, and immediately hanged. If death, and not the call for mercy, was the consequence of the combat, still the punishment of hanging was inflicted.*

The trial by battle was allowed in cases of larceny, or highway robbery, or personal violence; but charges of these offences must have been proved by two witnesses; the appellee was compelled to fight either of these witnesses, and if the witness were conquered, he and the appellant should be hanged. An additional subject for execution was made when the witness fought by his champion, and the champion was vanquished. When a woman was an appellant,

 and

* Assises, ch. 100—102.

CHAP. VIII.

and her witness and his champion lost her cause, then the fate of the woman was burning; and hanging was that of the other persons. Champions were allowed both to appellants and appellees when they were women, and men decrepid, or more than sixty years of age. In the case of other persons, the battle was deferred.* If a knight charged another knight with striking or wounding him, the accused person might by oath deny the charge; but if he did not take the oath of purgation, he forfeited one thousand besants to the lord, and the equipments of a war horse to the knight. But if a plebeian dared to strike a knight, the offender was to lose his right hand, on account of the superiority of knighthood over all other classes. If a knight struck an inferior person, or an inferior person struck his equal, one hundred besants to the lord, and the same sum to the injured man, formed the penalty. Domestic altercations were to

† Assises, ch. 104, 108, 105, 107. The allowance of champions to appellees is mentioned in ch. 107, and other places. It appears from ch. 244, that they were allowed also to appellants. "Plusiers fois est avenu que se un "home qui a soixante ans passés appelle ou est appellé de "chose ou il offere bataille, que il s'en deffent ou mostre "par champion de son bon gré ne le veaut faire de son "cors, &c." The context shows that women who were appellants might also fight by champion.

to be regulated by religion and manners, for personal injuries between husbands, wives, children, and slaves, were not actionable.*

But it was not for the decision of private wrongs only† that the trial by battle was allowed. A man who had been proved guilty by witnesses, or general notoriety, might impeach the proceedings and decision of the court, and the singular spectacle was exhibited of a criminal fighting with his judges. If any man were so rash as to offer his gage against the court, he was obliged to fight all the members of the court one by one, as well those who had cognizance and decided his cause, as those who had not; for the man impeached the court, and all the members of it were concerned in preserving its honour: besides a man who had been attainted, conquered, or proved guilty of falsehood, could never afterwards be a witness, and a court which had been impeached could have no valid jurisdiction in future. On the day of

 battle

* Assises, ch. 116, 117.

† There is no prohibition of public wrongs in the Assises. A council of barons and prelates at Naplousa, in 1120, formed an imperfect criminal code. But little useful knowledge can be gained from it. The learned reader knows where to find it, and as its description of offences and punishments is very disgusting, I shall not open the subject to the general student.

CHAP. VIII.

battle the appellant appeared on one side of the field, and all the members of the court on the other. The appellant selected his antagonists in what order he chose, but the halter awaited him, unless he vanquised them all in one day. All those whom he conquered, that is, made recreant, were to be hanged also.*

Villains and slaves.

The villains and slaves were out of the jurisdiction of both courts of justice: they had no rights; no possessions; but were in every respect considered as cattle. If any person should harbour the villains of another lord, and refuse to render them, the injured lord ought forcibly to

* Assises, ch. 111. It is evident that an appeal of false judgment was not likely to have been made under the law of the Assises: but in the Beauvoisis the accused asked the lord to make the peers give judgment out aloud: then on the first person giving it, the party called him liar, and the battle was only between those two persons. If the judge were defeated, the court did not lose jurisdiction: but if the criminal waited till all the peers had decided, then he must fight all; and if he conquered them all, the court lost jurisdiction for ever. Beaum, 314. But it seems to have been a general law that an appeal of false judgment could not have been made in the king's court, because an appeal supposed an equality between the parties, and no one was equal to the king. Consequently, where the lord dreaded an appeal against his proceeedings, he removed the cause into the king's court, or got some of the king's officers into his. Defontaines, c. 22. aet. 14.

to enter the lands of the wrong doer and seize the villains. If any male villain married a female villain without the consent of her lord, the lord of the male villain was compelled to give to the other lord a villain of equal age with her who had been married: but if the parties had been united with the consent of the lord of the female villain, then no return could be demanded.* Such were the laws as practised in Palestine respecting villains. In the year 1350 some new regulations were made at Cyprus, which still further shew the degraded state of a useful class of people. He who harboured a runaway male villain paid as the price of the fugitive two hundred golden besants. One hundred pieces of the same coin was the value of a female villain: and this last-mentioned sum was fixed as the pecuniary worth of a slave, whether male or female. It is curious that a female falcon was valued at one hundred besants, and a male at fifty. But the war-horse (la chevaucheur) was worth three hundred besants.†

Religious and military orders.

Before we return to the general history of Palestine some account should be given of those military and religious orders which were formed in the interval of the first and second crusades. The kingdom of Jerusalem attained its zenith of

* Assises, ch. 277, 278.

† Assises, 310, 312.

CHAP. VIII.

of power by the valour of its barons, and of the fresh bodies of heroical votaries who arrived after the capture of the city; and it was supported through all its succeeding revolutions by several of those societies which marked the days of chivalry. One great object of the Christians in Syria was the permanent possession of Jerusalem, and for this purpose the extension of the Latin power in Asia was indispensably necessary. Holy and military ardour had given rise to the Crusades; the same veneration for the sepulchre, and hatred of the infidels, kept the flame alive, and the principle varied in its appearance according to the different circumstances of affairs. It gave energy and life to one association which was formed for the protection of the unarmed palmer. In other cases military virtues were engrafted upon a foundation of benevolence.

Knights of St. John.

The great charitable establishment * for Christians in Jerusalem, felt every gale of the political storm which convulsed Palestine in the last half of the eleventh century; and the oppressed and persecuted members had only the hope of better times for their consolation and support. New vigour was given to their virtue when the Crusaders were triumphant; the hospital

* See page 13, ante.

pital received the wounded soldiers, and so self-denying were the administrators of charity, that the bread which they ate was made from the coarsest flour mixed with bran, while that which was given to the sick was formed from the purest meal. The benevolence of the Latin residents was beheld with affectionate respect by the Crusaders. Godfrey enriched the hospital by the gift of an estate in Brabant, and many of his companions devoted themselves to the perpetual service of the way-worn pilgrims. The association gradually acquired importance, and, feeling the weight of the charge, Gerard, the abbot, proposed to his brethren to renounce the world, and to take a religious habit. The lay members separated themselves from the church of St. John the almoner, and became a congregation under the more august tutelage of St. John the baptist. The patriarch of Jerusalem accepted their vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and invested them with a plain black robe, having a white linen cross of eight points on the left breast.* By a bull of Pope Paschal

* Between the years 1278 and 1289 an alteration was made in the dress of the knights. The grand master and his council enacted, that while the brethren of the hospital were engaged in military duties they should wear over their clothes a red military cassock, with a white cross strait. The long black mantle or habit could never be dispensed with

CHAP. VIII.

Paschal II. (A. D. 1113) the hospital was put under the protection of the Holy See, and had the valuable privileges of electing its own superintendant, and of exemption from payment of tithes. The government was of an aristocratical constitution; but in the deliberations of the council, the voice of the master was equal to two suffrages. In the time of Raymond Du Puy,* the friars became soldiers.† Their revenues were more ample than the largest demands

with in the house. The statutes of the order are full of regulations respecting dress. One of them is worthy of being extracted. "It becomes a religious man to be polite "in body as well as in mind, and therefore we enjoin our "brothers to dress themselves decently and handsomely, "forbidding them expressly, for the future, to wear any "dress that is not fit for their condition, particularly short "clothes, unless they are on a journey, or on shipboard, or "on guard."

* Raymond du Puy was grand master from 1121 to 1160.

† The exact year when the order took a military character is not settled. Vertot argues, that it must have occurred before the year 1130, for the services of the hospitallers to the king of Jerusalem are mentioned in a papal bull of that date. True: but the distinction of knights and serving brothers was not known till the year 1153, in the short pontificate of Anastasius IV. The bull which authorised this distinction also confirmed the society in its exemptions from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the payment of tithes. These exemptions were of great importance on events, as we shall see in the course of this history.

mands of charity, and as hostility to the Muselmans was equally virtuous with benevolence to Christians, the fraternity of St. John resolved that the sword should be drawn against the enemies of the Latin kingdom. The hospitallers were accordingly divided into three classes—nobility, clergy, and serving brothers.* The preservation of the unity of religious opinions, the

* These serving brothers did the ordinary duties of the hospital, and also fought in the ranks. Sèrjiens or serjens is the old French word for a servant or inferior person of any description. It is derived from the Latin serviens, and the change from the V to the G was a common circumstance in the formation of the French language from the Latin. The word was also used figuratively, in ages, when, in the close disguise of the heart, ideas of love were mixed with ideas of religion. The phrases, serjens de Dieu and serjens d'amour, are common in old authors. (We remember Shakspeare's phrase, "affection's men at arms.") The word serjens became used in courts of justice, from the circumstance, that anciently the seneschals and bailiffs employed their domestic servants to execute the commands of the judges. The titles of beadle and serjeant were generally synonimous, but, in the old Coustumier of Normandy it seems that the serjeants were those who executed malefactors, and the beadle did the inferior duties of the court. See Pasquier's Recherches, liv. viii. cap. xix. and Menage, Dict. Etymol. ed. Jault. article Sergent. The phrase, chevaliers en loix, is to be found in the prologue to Beaumanoir: so that, even in the thirteenth century, chivalric names were applied to legal dignities. The occasion of the title, serjens en loix, superseding the appellation, chevaliers en loix, does not appear.

CHAP. VIII.

the practice of every Christian virtue, and the destruction of the Muselmans,* were the professed objects of the association.† Personal chastity, and absolute resignation to the will of the council, were vowed by the members; and their attachment to the order was preserved by their incapacity of holding estates except in common with their brother knights. Like all other cavaliers, they were taught that the greatest service which they could render to the Christian world, was the endangering and sacrificing of their lives in battle with the infidels;‡ but he who deserted the ranks, or sent or accepted a challenge to a private combat, was

* The modern knights of Malta vowed never to make peace with the infidels. The knights might defer their vows, and they seldom made them till sure of a commandery.

† Among the laws of internal discipline there are a few worthy of notice. In opposition to the general practice of the middle ages, the knights were not permitted to sleep naked; but were to be dressed in woollen, linen, &c. They were not to talk at dinner or in bed. He who struck his companion was to fast during forty days: and the parties to a quarrel were for seven days to dine on the ground without the luxury of a table-cloth, and to undergo a rigorous fast on Wednesday and Friday.

‡ "Chevaliers en ce monde cy
"Ne peuvent vivre sans soucy:
"Ils doivent le peuple défendre,
"Et leur sang pour la foy espandre."

was deprived of the habit and cross of the order.* When not engaged in war, the various duties of the hospital occupied the knights; and even the heroes of Greece were not more zealous than the heroes of Palestine in healing the wounded soldier or pilgrim. The king of Jerusalem willingly accepted the military succours of the new society. The admirers of piety and valour either joined their standard, or enriched their coffers; every country† of Europe had preceptories,‡ and the great men sent

* The putting of the habit on the canditate was the mode of initiation; and it was torn off when he was banished from the society. Thus, when an esquire was admitted into the order of knighthood, the buckling on of the spurs was the first ceremony of the investment; and the hacking them off was the mark of degradation.

† The Hospitallers came into England in the reign of Henry the First. Their first priory was established at Clerkenwell, by Jordan Briset, of Wellinghall, in Kent. The *original* edifice was set fire to and destroyed by the rebels in the year 1381. The new building was not perfectly finished till 1504. Bucklands, in Somersetshire, was the principal house in England for the nuns or sisters of the order of St. John. Dugdale, Mon. Angl. ii. 505. Stow's London, book iv. p. 62, ed. 1720. Pref. to Tanner, Not. Mon.

‡ Cowel, and a thousand writers after him, have given the word preceptory, as the name for the estates of the Templars, and commandery for those of the Hospitallers. But, in truth, until the year 1260, the estates of the Hospitallers were

CHAP. VIII.

sent their sons to the hospital of St. John, in order that they might practise religion, and be trained up in knightly discipline and feats of arms.*

For more than two centuries after the institution of the order, a postulant for the first class or grand cross presented proofs of the gentility of his father and mother.† But the order became

were called preceptories. From that year they were called commanderies (the letters from the hospital to their colonies beginning with the word commendamus). It was then that the finances of the order were put on a new footing, and as the wars in Palestine were expensive, and the officers in distant countries selfish and corrupt, the knights at Jerusalem resorted to the experiment of constraining their agents to send to Palestine every year a specific sum, without regard to circumstances or difference of seasons.

* Jacob. de Vit. cap. lxiv. Archb. of Tyre, lib. xviii. c. 3, 4. The Bulles of Paschal the Second and Boniface, and the Statutes of the Order in the Appendix to Vertot's History of the Knights of St. John. From Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, vol. iii. c. xii. little or nothing additional to the common accounts can be gained.

† Considering that the cavaliers were to be as pure as vestals, it is singular that the chastity of their mothers was not looked to. Legitimacy does not seem to have been a matter of moment. No regulation on the subject was made till the time of Hugh de Revel, who was grand master from 1262 till 1268. The order then enacted, that no person could be admitted to profession, if either himself or his father had not been born in lawful wedlock, except, however, the sons of counts and persons of high rank and quality. In after

came scrupulous with respect to the admission of participators of the highest distinctions, when wealth and letters changed the face of society, and the aristocracy of birth became alarmed for the existence of its exclusive privileges. In France, the postulant was required to shew that his father, his paternal and maternal grandfathers, and great grandfathers too, were gentlemen by name as well as by arms. A proof of this description formed eight quarters of gentility. In Italy, the blazon and arms of the father and mother, and of the paternal and maternal grandmothers were required. Each of these families must have had a known gentility for two hundred years past. In Genoa, Lucca, and Florence, however, the commercial spirit of the people softened aristocratical haughtiness, and the *sons* of merchants, bankers, and tradesmen might be candidates for the honour of knights grand crosses. In Spain* and Portugal

 four

after times it was decreed, that the postulant must be born likewise of a mother that was a gentlewoman by birth. In the mastership of Adolphe de Vignacour (A.D. 1601-1622) the exception concerning illegitimacy was still further limited to the case of sons of kings and of other sovereign princes. Some years afterwards it was abolished altogether.

* As the Spaniards carried their notions of nobility higher than the Germans, it is singular that they should not have been more pure in their fancies on the necessary gentility for

CHAP. VIII.

four quarters of gentility were required. But in Germany, sixteen was the number, and they must have been of families, the individuals of which were capable of being members of collegiate bodies; and it was necessary that all their alliances should have been perfectly pure. The order of St. John was further divided into those who spoke the seven great languages of Europe, the English, the German, the Italian, that of Arragon, and the three great dialects of the French, namely, the Provençal, the Auvergne, and the common French. When in the days of

for a knight grand cross. "When the nobility of Arragon "appeared before their king, for the purpose of swearing "allegiance, the justiza exclaimed, 'We, who are each of "'us as good as your majesty, and who are altogether more "'powerful than you, promise obedience to your govern-"'ment, if you maintain our rights and liberties; but, if "'not, not.' When the duke of Vendôme made the Spa-"nish nobility sign a declaration of allegiance to Philip the "Fifth, some of them added to their names, the words, "'Noble as the king.' The duke bore this with tolerable "patience, but could not contain himself, when one of them, "after these words, added, 'and a little more.' 'Heavens!' "exclaimed the duke, 'you do not call in question the no-"'bility of the house of France, the most ancient in Eu-"'rope?' 'By no means,' replied the Spaniard, 'but, my "'lord duke, please to consider, that, after all, Philip "'the Fifth is a Frenchman, and I am a Castilian.'" Butler's Notes on the Revolutions of the Germanic Empire. Proofs and Illustrations, p. 275, 276, first edition.

of Henry VIII. the English branch of the order was broken, and in consequence of the Reformation, no protestant Englishman could become a member of a catholic society, the languages of Castile and Portugal were introduced.

It was not until the time of John de Valette, grand master of Malta in the sixteenth century, that any statutes were made respecting the qualifications for brother chaplains and serjeants at arms. It was then decreed that men of these classes of the order should be born of respectable parents, who had not been engaged in any servile art or business.

The Templars.

Italy gave birth to the fraternity of the military friars. Some French gentlemen founded the equally honourable institution of the Red Cross knights. The first and simple object of the former of these orders was the relief of the poor pilgrim; the original design of the latter was to watch the roads, and keep open the communication between Europe and the holy land. After the Christian world had been blessed with the news that Jerusalem was in the hands of Godfrey of Bouillon, the old and the young, the rich and the poor, took the road for Palestine as pilgrims, and too confidently expected that the angel of heaven would guard them from the predatory Turks. Their distresses excited the

 friendly

friendly sympathy of Hugh de Payens, and Geoffrey de Saint Omer, and a few other knights. The example of humanity was imitated, and the new defenders of holy interests vowed to shed their blood in defence of the pious itinerants. As the object of the association was a religious one, the society imitated the Hospitallers by taking a religious character.* The members bound themselves to the three great monastic virtues of chastity, community of possessions, and absolute submission to the commands of the order. The masters of the chapter warned a candidate of the pains and dangers to which he would be exposed. He must rise when he wished to sleep; he must endure fatigue when he required repose; he must suffer hunger and thirst when he wished to eat and drink; and he must go into one country when he was anxious to remain in another. The objects of the union were agreeable to an age when all was military violence or cloistered austerity. The soldiers of the pilgrims were enriched and honoured by the king and nobles, and assumed the title of Templars, or knights of the Temple, when Baldwin I. gave them for a residence part of the royal palace adjacent to the temple

* The Templars, in their first beginnings, were fed and clothed by the Hospitallers.

temple of Solomon.* The council of Troyes, in the year 1128, approved of the order. Like their compeers of St. John, the new friars added military duties to their religious character.

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They

* Bromton, col. 1008. Knighton, col. 2382. ap. decem Script. The knights originally called themselves "milites "Christi," and then "pauperes commilitionis Christi et "templi Solomonis." In memory of their primitive poverty, and in order that they might be mindful of humility, Hugh and Geoffrey had engraven on their seal the figures of two men on one horse. A rude cut of this seal is in the Historia Minor of Matthew Paris. It does not appear how long this singular stamp was used by the Templars. In the course of time it was changed for a device of a field argent, charged with a cross gules, and upon the nombril thereof a holy lamb, with its nimbus and banner. In England, when lawyers became Templars, this device was assumed by the Society of the Middle Temple, about fifty years after the figure of the Pegasus had been taken by the Society of the Inner Temple. To return, for a moment, to the subject of the first seal. What, in the case before us, was the consequence of poverty, had not always so low an origin. In chivalry, the horse of a knight was almost as distinguished a being as the knight himself; and the strength of the one was in proportion to the valour of the other. It was so common, in works of romance, to multiply the duties and power of the steed, that Cervantes ridicules it. "And "pray," said Sancho, "how many persons will this horse "carry?" "Two," replied the afflicted; "one upon the "saddle, and the other upon the crupper, and these are "commonly the knight and the squire, when there is no "damsel to be stolen." Don Quixote, book iii. ch. viii.

CHAP. VIII.

They received from Pope Honorius a white mantle without a cross, as their regular habit. Pope Eugenius III. commanded them to wear red crosses,* and they were taught that the white garment was symbolical of the purity of their lives and professions, and the red crosses were emblematical of the martyrdom which they would willingly undergo in defending the holy land from the hostile inroads of the infidels. They feared neither the number nor the power of their foes: because conquest stands not in the

* The Templars wore linen coifs and red caps close over them; shirts and stockings of twisted mail, a sopra vest, and broad belts, with swords inserted. Over the whole was a white cloak touching the ground. In opposition to the practice of most religious orders, the Templars wore long beards. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 704.

A Templar somewhat resembled, in appearance, Spenser's red-cross knight.

And on his brest a bloodie crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead, as living, ever him ador'd;
Upon his shield the like was also scor'd,
For soveraine hope, which in his helpe he had.
Right, faithful, true he was in deede and word;
But of his cheere did seeme too *solemne sad*,
Yet nothing did he dread, but ever was ydrad.

Fairy Queen, book i. canto i. st. 2.

St. Bernard describes the Templars as grave of countenance and deportment.

the multitude of an host, but strength comes from heaven. They were more desirous of victory than of glory, more anxious to be dreaded than admired. All their confidence was placed in the God of battles, and in fighting for his cause they sought either a certain victory, or a holy and honourable death.* The order soon rose into power and dignity.† Its eminent services to the great concern of Christendom were cheerfully repaid by a general exemption from the control of, as well as from contributions to the clergy. In most countries the privileges of the Templars and those of the Hospitallers were commensurate. The nobility of Europe* were divided in their regard to the military

* Exhortatio ad milites Templi. S. Bernardi, Opera, v. i. ed. Mabillon, 1690.

† The office of master of the Templars was so well known every where, that there is an expression for it in the Greek of the lower empire :—*τεμπλε μαιστωρ*. Du Cange, Glossariam ad Scrip. med. et. inf. Græcitatis. The French origin of the Templars was preserved in the phrase *Φρεριοι τε τεμπλε*.

* The knights Templars came into England in the beginning of Stephen's reign. Their principal station was in Holborn, on the south side, near Southampton Buildings. "For their more conveniency," in the time of Henry II. they built and removed into their house in Fleet Street. Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, cap. 57, ed. 1671. The great benefactor to the English Templars was a Roger de Mowbray,

CHAP. VIII.

military friars and the Red Cross knights. Personal purity, submission, and community of possessions, were the qualities of each order: and it would have been false and invidious to have asserted that one was more distinguished than the other, as "the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise." The former was a religious as well as a military institution; but the latter was not occupied by the specific duties of the hospital; and therefore while some people admired the union of piety and valour in the cavaliers of St. John, others, more absolutely fond of war, embraced the discipline of the knights of the Temple.

Order of St. Lazarus.

So often are ideas of merit associated with those of antiquity, that some historians of the order of St. Lazarus have traced its origin to a supposed association of Christians in the first century

Mowbray, who accompanied Louis VII. to the holy land in 1148. He granted to the order various manors in Leicestershire. The knights, as an honourable return, gave him the privilege of pardoning any Templar who was doing penance. But they did him the more valuable service of ransoming him from the Saracens, after the battle of Tiberias: for one journey to Palestine did not satisfy this pious chieftain. In the days of Edward III. the Hospitallers, as possessors of the lands of the Templars, conferred the privilege of pardoning offending knights upon John Lord Mowbray, the lineal heir of Roger. Dugdale, Baronage, I. 122, 123.

century against the persecution of their Jewish and Pagan enemies. This account is fabulous. It appears certain, however, that in very early times Christian charity founded establishments for the sick. In the year 370 St. Basil built a large hospital in the suburbs of Cesarea, and lepers were the peculiar objects of its care. Those poor men were by the laws and customs of the east interdicted from intercourse with their relations and the world, and their case was so deplorable that, according to unexceptionable testimony,* the emperor Valens, Arian as he was, enriched the hospital of Cesarea with all the lands which he possessed in that part of the world. Christian charity formed similar institutions in various places of the east. Lazarus became their tutelary saint, and the buildings were styled Lazarettos. One of these hospitals was in existence at Jerusalem at the time of the first crusade. It was a religious order, as well as a charitable institution, and followed the rule of St. Augustin. For purposes of defence against the Muselman tyrants, the members of the society became soldiers, and insensibly they formed themselves into distinct bodies of those who attended the sick, and those who mingled with the world. The cure of lepers

* Theodoret, lib. 4. cap. 16.

CHAP. VIII.

lepers was their first object, and they not only received lepers into their order, for the benefit of charity, but their grand master was always to be a man who was afflicted with the disorder,* the removal whereof formed the purpose of their institution. The cavaliers who were not lepers, and were in a condition to bear arms, were the allies of the Christian kings of Palestine.† The order was taken under royal protection, and the Jerusalem monarchs conferred upon it various privileges.‡

* This singular rule was abrogated about the year 1253, because the infidels had slain all the lepers in Jerusalem. The Pope thereupon permitted the order to elect a man for its master who was not a leper.

† The habit of those knights is not known: it only appears that the crosses on their breats were always green, in opposition to those of the knights of St. John, which were white, and the red crosses of the Templars.

‡ But neither the names, nor the exploits of the knights of St. Lazarus, often appear in the history of the Crusades.

CHAP. IX.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade... A Crusade necessary in consequence of the loss of Edessa......Character of St. Bernard......Crusade embraced by Louis VII. king of France, and the emperor Conrad III. of Germany......Their military array......March of the Germans......Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor...... Louis halts at Constantinople......Distresses of the Germans......Bravery of the French......and their subsequent disasters......Arrival of the French at Antioch......Eleanora......Firmness of Louis...... The Crusaders reach Jerusalem......They depart from their original object......Siege of Damascus... Disgraceful failure......Return to Europe of Conrad and Louis.

When the hour of battle arrived, the few valiant knights in the holy land wished for no participators in the glory of vanquishing their numerous foes; but the timorous and prudent clergy continually solicited the co-operation of Europe, and in the consternation throughout Palestine which the fall of Edessa occasioned, all classes of people beckoned their compatriots in the

west.

CHAP. IX.

The aspect of France favourable for a new Crusade.

west. The news of the loss of the eastern frontier of the Latin kingdom reached France at a time peculiarly favourable for foreign war. After having reduced his vassal, the count of Champagne, to obedience, Louis VII. the French king exceeded the usual cruelty of conquerors, and instead of sheathing his sword, when the inhabitants of Vetri submitted, he set fire to a church in which more than thirteen hundred of them had fled for refuge. His sacrilegious barbarity excited the indignation of the clergy and laity. A fit of sickness calmed his passions; his conscience accused and condemned him, and he resolved to expiate his sins by a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.* Louis VII. was the first sovereign prince who engaged himself to fight under the banner of the cross. The news of the calamities in Palestine quickened his holy resolution, and like other men he was impetuously moved by the eloquence of St. Bernard, the great oracle of the age. By the superiority of his talents, and also of his consideration in the eyes of Europe, this new apostle of a holy war was far more capable than Peter the Hermit,† of

Character of St. Bernard.

* Il fit vœu de faire égorger des millions d'hommes pour expier la mort de quatre ou cinq cents Champenois. Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs des Nations, chap. 55.

† Bernard says it was entirely owing to the bad generalship of Peter, that in the first Crusade the populace were destroyed.

of exciting the tumultuous emotions of enthusiasm. From his ancestors, the counts of Chatillon and Montbart, Bernard inherited nobility; but he felt not its usual accompaniment, the love of military honour. His ardent and religious soul soon disdained the light follies of youth; and, casting off the desire of celebrity as a writer of poetry and songs,* he wandered in the fanciful regions of sanctified beatitude, or the rough and craggy paths of polemical theology. At the age of twenty-three he embraced the monastic life † at Citeaux; and soon afterwards,

CHAP. IX.

destroyed. It is amusing to observe the contempt with which the saint speaks of the hermit. "Fuit in priori expeditione antequam Jerosolyma caperetur, vir quidam, "Petrus nomine, cujus et vos (nisi fallor) sæpe mentionem "audistis," &c. Epist. 363, p. 328, vol. i. Opera, S. Bernardi, edit. Mabillon, 1690.

* Imo magis mirandum esset, te eloquii urgeri siccitate, quoniam audivimus a primis fere adolescentiæ rudimentis cantiunculas mimicas et urbanos fictitasse. Neque certe in incerto loquimur opinionis, sed testis est alumna tui patria nostri sermonis. Berengarius' Letter to Bernard, in Opera Abelardi, p. 302. This passage I first met with in Mr. Turner's History of England, vol. i. p. 498, note 31.

† A Hindu or Muhammedan Faquir might envy Bernard his power of abstraction. After a year's noviciate, he did not know whether the top of his cell was covered with a ceiling, nor whether the church had more than one window, though it had three. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 231. edit. 1812.

CHAP. IX. wards, with the co-operation of about thirty other enthusiasts, many of whom were his relations, he founded the monastery of Clairvaux in Champagne. His miraculous eloquence severed the connections in social life: sons separated themselves from their fathers, and husbands dissolved the nuptial ties. Genuine fanaticism only could have followed a man who sternly told his admirers, that if they wished to enter his convent, they must dismiss their bodies, for their souls alone could dwell in a place which was sacred to contemplation and devotion. His self-denial and his earnestness for religion gained him the reverence of his contemporaries; and in the altercations between rival authorities, his decision was appealed to as that of an inflexible and incorruptible judge. When the clergy of Louis the Gross asserted the clerical prerogatives of exemption from taxes, and from submission to secular authority, Bernard supported the selfish and rebellious prelates, and treated the king as the enemy of God. In the war for the pontificate between Anaclet and Innocent II. he supported the cause of the latter; and by the display of his zeal and ability in France and Germany, he placed his friend in the chair of St. Peter. He reconciled the conflicting interests of Pisa and Genoa; and the Genoese thought that his disinterestedness was angelical,

cal, when he refused their offer of a bishopric. He was celebrated as a writer as well as a preacher, but he was far inferior both in genius and erudition to his distinguished contemporary, and he opposed him more successfully by authority than by argument. Abelard was the great supporter of the scholastic philosophy; and his love of disputation, unchecked by reverend and holy discretion, led him into some strange and absurd errors in theology. He was vain of the graces of his person, and proud of his intellectual powers. He presumptuously thought that his accomplishments were irresistible by the opposite sex;* and that it was by genius alone he had mastered those sciences which mortals, framed in nature's common mould, can only obtain by mute abstraction and solitary labour. Bernard exposed the corruption

* Bayle, Art. Abelard, note G. Abelard's confidence in his powers of persausion was not ill judged; for Eloisa tells us that he possessed two qualities which other philosophers had not, by which he could conquer the hearts of women. He wrote well, and he sung well. He made such elegant verses, and composed such beautiful airs, that all the world was delighted, and could speak of nobody but the author. Bayle, Art. Heloise, note F.

> Now singing sweetly to surprise her sprights,
> Now making layes of love and lovers paine.
>
> Spenser.

CHAP. IX. tion and licentiousness* of the bishops and monks of his age. The austerity of his life† fortified him against the seductions of the heart; and while he stood up to his neck in water for the purpose of cooling an amorous flame,‡ Abelard threw himself into the arms of his pupil Eloisa.

The

* He declared, with pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. Fleury, Hist. Ecc. l. 73, cited by Maclaine, note to Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. Cent. 12. part 2. chap. 2. St. Bernard complained of the want of pecuniary charity in the clergy. "You may imagine," he says to them, "that what belongs to the church belongs to you "while you officiate there. But you are mistaken: for "though it be reasonable that one who serves the altar "should live by the altar, yet must it not be to promote his "luxury or his pride. Whatever goes beyond bare nourish- "ment and simple plain clothing, is sacrilege and rapine." Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 240.

† This austerity nearly killed him. His language concerning his physician shews the pride of his mind. "I who "have governed reasonable men, am now forced to obey "this animal."

‡ St. Bernard happened once to fix his eyes on the face of a woman, but immediately reflecting that this was a temptation, he ran to a pond, and leaped up to the neck into the water, which was then as cold as ice, to punish himself, and to vanquish the enemy. Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 229.

CHAP. IX.

Crusade embraced by the king of France and the emperor of Germany.

The wish of Louis for a Crusade was applauded by Pope Eugenius the third. His intention was pronounced to be holy; and Bernard was ordered to travel through France and Germany, and preach a plenary indulgence to those who followed the royal example. Eugenius wrote to the faithful sons of the church, urging them to cross the seas to Palestine. The first Crusaders had provoked the wrath of Heaven by their dissoluteness and folly; but the new soldiers of Christ ought to travel simple in dress, and disdaining the luxury of falcons and dogs of the chace.* As Peter had represented the scandal of suffering the sacred places to remain in the hands of the infidels, the eloquent Bernard thundered from the pulpit the disgrace of allowing a land which had been recovered from pollution again to sink into it.† He was admitted to the

* Otho Frising, lib. 1. c. 34. in Muratori, vol. vi. Rer. Scrip. Ital. The Pope also said that if a debtor were moved by the spirit of grace, the holy see absolved him from his obligations to man. But I doubt whether this acquittance were equal to a receipt in full: for the general practice in the days of the Crusade respecting debt was, that indemnity from the claims of creditors lasted only during the time of the holy journey, or for a certain number of years.

† On this oft repeated argument Fleury well remarks; "It was said that the disgrace of Jesus Christ ought to be "avenged. But what he accounts an injury, and what "truly dishonours him, is the debauched life of wicked "Christians,

CHAP. IX. the thrones of princes, as well as to the pulpits of their churches; to public assemblies and to private meetings. In a parliament held at A.D. 1146. Vezelai, in the season of Easter, 1146, Louis was confirmed in his pious resolve; and having on his knees received the holy symbol, he joined with Bernard in moving the barons and knights to save the sanctuary of David from the hands of the Philistines. No house could contain the multitude; they assembled in the fields, and Bernard addressed them from a lofty pulpit. As at the council of Clermont, so on this occasion, shouts of Deus id vult rent the skies: the crosses which the man of God had brought with him to the meeting fell far short of the number of enthusiasts; and he therefore tore his simple monkish garment into small pieces, and affixed them to the shoulders of his kneeling converts.

" Christians, and such were most of the Croises, which is
" far more odious to him than the profanation of things
" inanimate, of buildings consecrated to his name, and of
" places which bring to our minds what he suffered for us.
" What respect soever may be due to holy places, his re-
" ligion is not connected with them. He hath declared this
" himself, when he said that the time was coming when God
" should be worshipped neither in Samaria nor in Jerusa-
" lem, but in all and in any places, in spirit and in truth."
Fleury, cited in Jortin, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 336.

verts.* The successful incendiary then crossed the Rhine; and every city and village from Constance to Carinthia echoed the call to war. The dukes of Bohemia and Turin, the count of Carinthia, the marquis of Styria and Montferrat, sanctified their military energies. Wherever Bernard moved, the credulous religionists conceived that celestial favour was with him; and they who could not understand his language,† were converted by his miracles. But the emperor Conrad III. made a long and firm denial. As politics prevented the exercise of religious fervour, the preacher endeavoured to impress him with the belief, that were he in arms for the kingdom of God, Heaven would protect his kingdom in Europe. Still the emperor wanted faith; but when the holy orator, in a moment of peculiar energy, drew an animated picture of the proceedings of the day of judgment, of the punishments which would be inflicted on the idle, and the rewards which would be showered upon the Christians mili-

 tant,

* Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1100. Odo de Diagolo, in the twelfth volume of Bouquet, p. 91–94.

† The favourite text of Bernard seems to have been Romans, xiv. 8. The preacher argued, that if those persons are happy who die *unto* the Lord; then, *à fortiori*, those are happier who die *for* the Lord. S. Bernardi, Opera, vol. i. p. 544, edit. Mabillon.

CHAP. IX. tant, then it was that conviction flashed across the mind of the royal auditor; and the profession was made that the lord of the Germans knew and would perform his duty to the church. Encouraged by this example, the barons and people flew to arms.* The apostolical eloquence of the successor of the Hermit raised armies and depopulated cities. According to his own expression, "the towns were deserted, "or the only people that were in them were "widows and orphans, whose husbands and "fathers were yet living." But though his zeal was ardent, his humanity was equally alive, and was superior to the age in which he flourished.

* Germany was not affected by the first Crusade in an equal degree with Lorraine, Flanders, France, and Italy. Saxo Grammaticus (apud Eccard, Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 579,) says, that when the Germans saw the troops of men, women, and children, on horseback and on foot, passing through their country in their road to Greece, they laughed at them as mad, for quitting their homes to run after imaginary good, in the midst of certain dangers; renouncing their own property in search of that of other people. Ekhard (Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. V. 517) mentions the same circumstance, and adds, that the cause of the want of enthusiam in Germany was, that the divisions between the emperor and the pope prevented the preaching of the Crusade in that country. Signs, however, in the Heavens, and other wonderful things, made many Germans take the cross, and join the armies in the course of their march.

flourished. By his own authority he silenced the preaching of a German monk, who had commanded his flock to massacre the Jews.* On his return to France, he recounted to the king and barons, assembled at Etampes, all that he had seen and done in Germany. In his absence the holy design had spread; and all inferior views, sentiments, and purposes, were drawn into the vortex of one grand project.†

A. D. 1147.

2 B 3 Mayence

* Voltaire and Gibbon have said, that Bernard was induced by envy of a rival monk, to forbid the massacre mentioned in the text. The maxim, in omnibus caritas, is in no case more necessary than when the ascription of motives to actions is the subject of inquiry. The barbarous treatment of the Jews by the first Crusaders was, as we have seen, reprobated by many pious people; and there is no reason to think that, in the case before us, Bernard joined in popular brutality. In various passages of his sermons, preached at different times, he recommends his auditors to treat the children of Israel with mercy. In the case before us he failed. He could guide, but was unable to quell the fury of the people. The Jews would have been quite exterminated unless they had taken refuge in the imperial domain. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

† Labbe, Concilia, vol. x. p. 1104. Otho Frising, cap. 37. Bouquet, XV. 605. Except a few references, which will be mentioned in the order of their occurrence, my materials for the history of the Crusades of Louis and Conrad are as follow:—The Chronicle of Otho Frisingen; this writer was in the army of the German emperor, and an eyewitness of most of the events of this holy war. Odo de Diagolo,

CHAP. IX.

Forces of the French king and the German emperor.

Mayence was the rendezvous of the French Crusaders, and Ratisbon of those from Germany. After the people of France had fasted for the benefit of the sacred cause, and their monarch had received the scrip and staff from the hands of the Pope, Louis and his queen repaired to Mayence. He was soon joined by the counts of Dreux, Soissons, Ponthieu, Nevers, Tholouse, Flanders, and Henry, a son of the rebellious count of Champagne. Their levies were of priests, of people, and of soldiers; and of the last class, the number of men, armed with the helmet and coat of mail, was seventy thousand.* The civil wars of England had been closed

Diagolo, successor of Suger in the abbey of St. Denys, and therefore a contemporary, has left us an account of the expedition of Louis, which I have read in the twelfth volume of the Benedictine's Collection of the French historians. Gesta Ludovici regis VII. in Duchesne, vol. iv. the work of a contemporary. Between this writer and William of Tyre there is often a verbal conformity; nevertheless, the former contains many things not included in the latter. I have gained some hints from the Greek contemporary historian Cinnamus, and Nicetas, the next succeeding Byzantine Chronicler. The Arabic Ben Latir, as inserted in the Notice des MSS. du Roi, authenticates most of the European narrative; and I still find the archbishop of Tyre my sure and faithful guide.

* Archb. of Tyre, 902. Some English soldiers must have accompanied Louis. Innumerabilis exercitus de universo Franciæ

closed by the weakness of all parties; but some of the nobility, restless when not engaged in deeds of blood, joined themselves to the force of Louis. Conrad had an army quite as large and formidable,* with a due proportion of light armed men, and simple pilgrims. The enthusiasm of the Crusade realized the dreams of romancers, and heroines as well as heroes had prepared themselves to make war upon the Paynim brethren. A considerable troop of women rode among the Germans; they were

 arrayed

Franciæ regno et *multi de gente Anglorum*, crucibus assumptis iter Hierosolymitanum arripuerunt. Henry of Huntingdon, p. 394. Cinnamus (p. 29) says that Crusaders went from the British isles. In the continuation of Simeon of Durham (Twysden, p. 275) mention is made of a Roger de Mowbray, and of the earl of Warren and Surry, who went to the holy land in 1148. The latter was killed by the Muselmans. The earls of Warren, in Normandy, were nearly allied to the family of William the Conqueror. The grandfather of the crusading earl came to England at the time of the conquest; was a faithful servant both of William the First and of William Rufus; and was created, by the latter, earl of Surry. Alice, the daughter of the eighth and last earl of Warren and Surry (tempore Edward III.) married Edmund, earl of Arundel, said by Dugdale to have been his next heir in blood.

* Many of the Saxon nation had taken the cross; but they acquitted themselves of their vow, by making war on the Slavi and other pagan nations. Pfeffel, Hist. d'Allemagne, vol. i. p. 309.

CHAP. IX.

arrayed with the spear and shield, but (like Virgil's Camilla) some love of usual delights had mingled itself with the desire of great exploits, for they were remarkable by the splendour of their dress, and the bold leader was called "the golden-footed dame." * The emperor marched through Hungary, and solicited the friendship of the Grecian court.† Manuel,

March of the Germans.

* The ladies of the twelfth century did not merely thread pearls, and amuse themselves with other employments equally delicate and elegant. The sword, and not merely the tongue, decided their disputes. Of this practice Ordericus Vitalis, p. 687, has given a remarkable instance. The love of "brave gestes" was the passion of the ladies as well as of the knights of chivalry. When poets wished to mark the degeneracy of the times in which they lived, the decline of the ardour for martial fame in women was always stated as one sign.

Where is the antique glory now become,
  That whylome wont in wemen to appeare?
Where be the brave atchievements doen by some
  Where be the battailles, where the shield and speare,
  And all the conquests which them high did reare,
That matter made for famous poets' verse,
  And boastful men so oft abasht to heare?
Been they all dead, and laide in dolefull herse?
Or doen they onely sleepe, and shall againe reverse?

Spenser's Fairy Queen, iii. 4, 1.

† Archb. of Tyre, 902. Nicetas, p. 31, edit. Basil, 1557. After the fashion of the Greek writers, Cinnamus compares the Latin hosts to the sand of the sea (p. 31, Venice edition), and

Manuel, the grandson of Alexius, was on the throne, and although like his ancestor he beheld with secret dread the armaments of Europe, yet for the protection of his subjects, he* entered into a treaty with Conrad for the regular purchase and sale of provisions.† There was frequent matter of charge and recrimination between the Greeks and the Germans, in the march of the latter to Constantinople ; and circumstances occasioned many negociations between the two emperors.‡ The storms of nature were

and he adds, that the emperor's lieutenant, after counting nine hundred thousand, could count no longer. Nearly the same number is mentioned by Odo de Diagolo; and Godfrey of Viterbo (cited by Du Cange), speaking of the imperial and royal armies, says,

——Numerum si noscere quæras
Millia millina militis agmen erat.

If these statements be true, the number of votaries of the second crusade equalled that of the first.

* Manuel had always ambitious designs upon the kingdom of Jerusalem ; and the same policy which made him dislike the approach of new swarms of Crusaders, urged him to conciliate the Latins in Palestine. He grievously offended the prejudices of the Greeks, when he gave the cavaliers of St. John a station and a church in Constantinople.

† Cinnamus, p. 30, and Du Cange, note, p. 144.

‡ Cinnamus is outrageous against the barbarians, p. 32, &c. The archbishop of Tyre dismisses, very hastily, the march to Constantinople. A relation of Conrad remained in a monastery at Adrianople, for the recovery of his health. Some

CHAP. IX.

were as unsparing as the cruelty of the Greeks. The Germans were encamped on a field towards the south of Thrace, and while they were busied in celebrating the feast of the Assumption, a river, swollen by mountain torrents, inundated the plain. The water swept away men, baggage, and horses, and festivity was changed for desolation. When the distressed soldiers arrived under the walls of Constantinople, like former bands of Europeans, they were lost in admiration of the exterior beauty of the city. But Conrad apprehended the duplicity of Manuel, and in indignation at the Grecian's infraction of the treaty relating to intercourse, he crossed the Bosphorus without meeting or conferring with the emperor.*

Conrad passes into Asia, disregarding the Byzantine emperor.

Oct. 1147. Louis halts at Constantinople.

Manuel received the king of France as an equal. He met him in the court of his palace, and after mutual embraces conducted him into an apartment, where they sat with equal dignity.

Some Greeks entered it, killed and robbed him. The duke of Suabia burnt the monastery, and slew all who were in it. The Latin writers account this action of the Greek soldiers as a national affair, but Cinnamus declares (p. 31) that these men were unauthorised robbers. Nicetas (p. 33) reprobates the Greeks.

* Cinnamus, p. 33, and Odo de Diagolo, cited in Du Cange's note.

nity.* In the midst of feasts and public rejoicings, the French monarch learnt that the emperor and the sultan of Iconium were in correspondence. The impatience of the barons and knights to visit Jerusalem overcame every suggestion to revenge, and made them think that the defence of the holy land, and not the destruction of the Greek empire, was the object for which they had taken up arms; that they must expiate their own sins, and not punish the crimes of the Greeks. But there were not wanting men who urged that the time was arrived for removing the barrier between Europe and Asia. By the negligence of the Greeks,† the sepulchre

* There is no doubt that no feudal superiority was claimed by Manuel over Louis. Without any violation of good manners, there might have been some distinction between the host and the guest. A great deal of learning has been squandered on the useless question, in what this distinction consisted; or whether the emperor sat on a high stool, and the king on a low one.

† This was the general opinion of the world; but when the Popes became unpopular, all the odium was cast on them. Dante makes a Crusader, in the second holy war, say,

> Poi seguitai lo 'mperador Currado,
> Et ei mi cinse della sua milizia;
> Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
> Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
> Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa

Per

sepulchre of Jesus Christ had fallen into the hands of the Turks. The emperors had always impeded the efforts of the Crusaders, and yet had demanded their conquests. The traitors then should be destroyed, rather than the new soldiers of God: for if the Greeks should accomplish their perfidious designs, Europe would demand from the French that army which a mistaken humanity had ruined. God himself had called them to the city of Constantine, and he would open to them its gates as he had opened to their precursors those of Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

The

Per colpa del pastor vostra giustizia.
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa
Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
E venni del martirio a questa pace.

Del Paradiso, canto 15.

——— I follow'd then
The emperor Conrad; and his knighthood he
Did gird on me; in such good part he took
My valiant service. After him several
To testify against that evil law,
Whose people, by the shepherd's fault, possess
Your right, usurping. There, by that foul crew
Was I releas'd from the deceitful world,
Whose base affection many a spirit soils,
And from the martyrdom came to this peace.

Carey's translation.

Distresses of the Germans.

The passage through Bithynia completed, Conrad entered Licaonia, the heart of the dominions of the Seljuk Turks. The sultan had assembled from every quarter of his states all the troops that could possibly be brought into the field, and the number was so great, that the rivers could not satisfy their thirst, or the country furnish provisions. The imperial guides conducted the objects of their care either through deserts where the soldiers perished from hunger, or led them into the jaws of the Muselmans. In their occasional transactions, the bread which the Croises purchased was mixed with chalk, and various other cruel frauds were practised by the Greeks.* The assaults of the Turks were incessant. The staff of the pilgrim was a poor defence from a scymitar, and the heavily armed Germans could not retreat from the activity of the Tartars. Only a tenth part of the soldiers and palmers that had left the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, escaped the arrows of the Moslems, and with their commander

* That the guides were treacherous, was a palpable fact. Whether they acted under secret orders of Manuel, or were seduced from their duty by the Turks, is a question. Archb. of Tyre, 903. Gesta, 395. Nicetas is unsparing in his censure of the emperor. G. Villani, a careful writer, casts all the blame on the Greeks, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 126.

CHAP. IX. mander secured their retreat to the French army. Louis had been lulled into security by the flattering assurances of Manuel, that Conrad, so far from standing in need of succour, had even defeated the Turks, and taken Iconium. The French king was lying in camp on the borders of the lake near Nice, when some wretched German fugitives arrived with news of the perfidy of the Greeks, and the triumph of the Muselmans.* The allied monarchs soon met, and consulted on the road which the champions of the cross should take. They united their Crusaders, turned aside from the path which had been trodden by the feudal princes of Europe, and marched in concert as far as Philadelphia in Lydia: but the Germans had lost their baggage, and on a prospect of new calamities, many returned to Constantinope, and near Ephesus (to which place the army directed its course) the emperor himself embarked, and courted that friendship which formerly he had despised. The French recruited themselves on the shores of the Egean sea, and pursued their march in an easterly direction. They rejected with disdain an offer of Manuel of a protection from Moslem fury, and they gallantly kept up their

* Archb. of Tyre, 901, 903. M. Paris, 68. De Guignes, livre xi.

their course with the usual portion of suffering, till they arrived at the banks of the Meander. They found there the Turks, who having safely deposited their spoils, came to dispute with the Latins the passage of the river. The Muselmans on the mountains exhausted their quivers, and then rushed to close combat. But if the Asiatics were exalted by confidence, the heroes of the west were inspirited by the desire to wipe away the disgrace of their precursors' defeat. The battle was not of long duration; the French made so great a slaughter of their foe, that the bones of the Muselmans were conspicuous for years, and the consequences of the valour of the French were so appalling, that the trembling Greeks confessed that great praise should be given to the moderation and patience of men in not having levelled Constantinople with the ground. The Crusaders proceeded in good order and discipline through the town of Laodicea, into the barrier mountains between Phrygia and Pisidia. The vanguard of the army advanced beyond the appointed rendezvous. The rearguard, in which was the king, being ignorant that their companions had passed the place, which was now nigh at hand, were in haste to march. They moved forwards with perfect confidence that the heights before them were in possession of their friends. Their ravenous

Bravery of the French.

And their subsequent distresses.

CHAP. IX.

venous enemy, who always hovered round them, seized the moment when the ranks of the Christians were divided, and casting aside their bows and arrows, fell upon them with tumultuous rapidity sword in hand. It was in a defile of the mountains that the Turkish tempest burst on the Latin troops. Rocks ascending to the clouds were above the Croises, and fathomless precipices beneath them. The French could not recover from the shock and horror of the surprise. Men, horses, and baggage were cast into the abyss. The Turks were innumerable, and irresistible. The life of the king was saved more by fortune than by skill. He escaped to an eminence with a few soldiers, and in the deep obscurity of the night made his way to the advanced guard.* The snows of winter, deficiency of stores, and the refusal of the Greeks to trade with them, were the evils with which the French had to contend. They marched, or rather wandered, for they knew not the roads, and the discipline of the army was broken. They arrived at Attalia, the metropolis of Pamphilia, seated on the sea shore near the mouth of the Cestrus. But the unchristian Greeks refused hospitality to the enemies of the infidel name.

Jan. 1148.

* Nicetas, 35, 37. De Guignes, livre xi. Archb. of Tyre, 905, 6. Gesta Ludov. 398, 400.

name. The country round the city, though beautiful by nature, was not much cultivated, for it was perpetually devastated by the Muselmans. The French were therefore obliged to repose in the fields, protected only by their tents from the inclemency of the season.

Famine had so dreadfully thinned the ranks of the army, and so many horses and other beasts of burthen had perished, that the most sage and prudent among the Crusaders advised their companions to turn aside from scenes of desolation, and proceed by sea to Antioch. But when the king offered to share with his barons all the vicissitudes of plenty and poverty, and incited them to follow the route of the conquerors of Jerusalem, the brave peers of France were touched by honourable pride, and it was agreed that the simple pilgrims, women and children alone, should make the proposed passage. The city of Attalia was saved by the governor, who averted the vengeance of the French by offering them ships. But when after five weeks had passed, and the vessels arrived, it was found that there were not sufficient for the purpose, and the order of things was changed. The king and his soldiers embarked for Antioch. The way-worn pilgrims and the sick were committed to the charge of Thierri count of Flanders, who was to march with them to

 Cilicia,

CHAP. IX.

Cilicia, and the king distributed among them all the money which his necessities could spare. But when Louis quitted the harbour, the Turks fell upon the Christians who were left behind, and the escort was found to be feeble and ineffective. The people of Attalia not only declined to open their gates, but even murdered the sick. Every day the Turks killed hundreds of the pilgrims, and as it was evident that flight alone could save the remainder, Thierri escaped by sea. Seven thousand wretched votaries of the cross attempted to surmount the higher difficulties of the land journey to Jerusalem; but the holy city never opened to their view, and in perishing under Moslem vengeance, they thought that the loss of the completion of the pilgrimage was compensated by the glories of martyrdom.

March 1148. Arrival at Antioch.

The nobility, the clergy, and people of Antioch, received the French king with every demonstration of respect; and prince Raymond, observing the alarm of the Turks in Aleppo and Cesarea at this arrival of fresh succour to the Christians, wished that some new enterprise should be undertaken while the panic continued. The gaiety of the court of Antioch had more charms for the queen than a journey over the sandy plains of Syria. Devoted to gallantry and pleasure, Eleanora urged her own and

Eleanora.

and her uncle's * wishes upon the king, but no blandishments of persuasion, or petulant threats of divorce, could remove Louis from his purpose of marching into Palestine. He received with joy some ambassadors of the king of Jerusalem; he repaired to the holy city, entered it in religious procession, while crowds of ecclesiastics and laymen were singing the psalm, "blessed "is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." His arrival had been preceded by that of the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the ruined German band. Conrad had requested, and received the hospitality of his relation, and Manuel was more ready to assist him forwards to Jerusalem, where new perils awaited him, than to see him return to his hereditary dominions without further loss.†

Firmness of Louis.

Arrival of the Croises in Palestine.

A council was held at Ptolemais, composed of the princes, barons, and prelates of Syria and Palestine, and the new commanders from Europe. The misfortunes of the Edessenes were forgotten, or yielded to higher feelings, for though the recapture of the principality of the Courtenays was the great object of the cru-

They depart from their original object.

 sade,

* Eleanora was the granddaughter of William VII. duke of Aquitain (the Crusader, p. 290, ante) who was the father of Raymond prince of Antioch.

† Gesta Lud. 401–403. Bouquet, XIII. 274, 661. O. Frising, c. 45, 47. Archb. of Tyre, 907, 8.

CHAP. IX. sade, yet there were Muselman cities in Syria far more dangerous to Jerusalem than the remote city of Edessa. The decree for a march to Damascus was passed, and the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France and Jerusalem, brought their troops into the field; but the best disciplined parts of the army were the knights of the Temple and St. John. Eager to relieve Damascus from the yoke under which she had groaned for nearly five centuries, the champions of Christianity soon arrived under her walls. The eastern and southern quarters of the city were seemingly impregnable, and the other sides, faced by fields and gardens, having towers and ditches at frequent intervals, were not apparently so formidable as solid and lofty battlements. Against the west and the north, therefore, the Latins directed their attacks. As the post of danger was the post of honour, the king of Jerusalem claimed and received it for his soldiers and the military orders. The king of France was in the rear, and on the account of the smallness of his force, the emperor of Germany fought without the concert of his allies. Numerous and of long continuance were the engagements between the Latins and the Syrians. The French fought with their wonted bravery, but the German cavaliers were peculiarly useful, for they contended equally well on foot

Siege of Damascus.

foot and on horse. The king of Jerusalem pressed his foes to the river which runs round the city; but they rallied, and his ranks were fainting for want of support. The emperor and his soldiers rushed through the bands of Frenchmen, supported the first line of the army, and compelled the Syrians to take refuge in Damascus.* The city was apparently in the power of the Croises, and the people abandoned themselves to despair. Arms were thrown aside; round the exemplar of the Koran, written by Omar, some invoked the aid of the prophet, while others prepared for flight. But instead of taking possession of Damascus, the Latins anticipated the event, and thought only to whom the prize should be given. Much time was wasted in intrigues, and the imaginary conquest was at last bestowed upon Thierri count of Flanders, whose claims to distinction were principally founded on the fact, that the present was his second journey to the holy land. The barons of Palestine were indignant at this assumption of power and violation of right: they

Disgraceful failure.

 even

* Archb. of Tyre, 910-912. Gesta, 405-407. It was on this occasion that Conrad celebrated his personal prowess as much as Godfrey of Bouillon had done at the siege of Antioch. Namely, with one stroke of his sword he cut a Saracen (completely armed) in twain, from the shoulder through the body to the hip!

CHAP. IX. even negotiated with the Muselmans, and received their bribes and promises.* They persuaded the council that the attack should be made on the other sides of the city, and prophesied that the walls would yield to the first assault. Deserting the places which they had gained with so much labour and bloodshed, the commanders removed their camp: but when they found themselves on a sandy sterile land, and contemplated the loftiness and strength of the towers which were before them, they repented of their haste and imprudence, and suspected

* Archb. of Tyre, 912, 913. Gesta, 407, 409. The archbishop of Tyre made sedulous inquiries with respect to the cause of the failure on Damascus, and found that the story in the text was the general as well as the best opinion. Gervas (X. Script. col. 1365) relates a tale that the Damascenes, knowing the cupidity of the Templars, promised them three casks full of besants if they would persuade the king to raise the siege. The object was effected, but the casks which were sent to the Templars contained only pieces of brass, and no gold. The Arabic account of the matter is that the emir of Damascus played off the common trick of making the Franks of Syria believe, that if the new Crusaders took the city they would also capture Jerusalem, and other places. He even offered to the resident Christians the town of Cesarea Philippi, which was at that time a Muselman town. The Syrian Franks then terrified their comrades with a report of the march of Saphadin emir of Mosul, and the emperor of Germany raised the siege. Ben Latir, Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. 1. p. 558.

suspected the treachery of the advice that they had followed. They were no longer indulging in the gardens of the city, and with their usual want of caution they had not husbanded their camp stores. A return to their old station would be useless, for the Saracens had repaired the fortifications, and those scourges of the Franks, Noureddin and Saphadin, had strengthened the garrison. After sustaining for a short time the sallies of the new troops, and rejecting in a council of war the advice of some unsubdued spirits for an attack on Ascalon, the Christian army raised the siege of Damascus, and retrograded to Jerusalem in sorrow and in shame. Conrad soon returned to Europe, with the shattered relics of the German host, and his steps were a year afterwards traced by the French king,* the queen, and most of the French lords.†

Return to Europe of Louis and Conrad.

1149.

* Louis was not ignorant of his wife's gallantries in the holy land. About a year after his return to France, he got himself divorced from her on the decent pretence of consanguinity. This was a great sacrifice of interest to the point of honour, for she separated the duchy of Aquitain from France. Henry duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry II. king of England) loved her person or her dowry, and married her only two months after her divorce. M. Paris, 70. Eleanora was most likely perfectly easy on the subject of separation, for in her judicial office in the Provençal courts of

† Archb. of Tyre, 910, 914.

CHAP. IX.

Among the few men whose virtues and abilities spread some rays of moral and intellectual light over the twelfth century was Suger, the abbot of the celebrated religious fraternity of St. Denys, in France. Strongly imbued with the superstition of his time, his fondest wish was for the overthrow of the Moslems. As minister of Louis VII., however, he had exposed to his royal master the embarrassment of the state finances, the fierce and menacing aspect of the crown vassals, and other circumstances of a political nature, sufficient to deter him from quitting his dominions. But the spirit of romantic devotion in the heir of Charlemagne could not be quenched, and Louis well consulted the interests of his kingdom in delivering the sceptre to the charge of the abbot of St. Denys. After his return from Palestine, the king ardently wished to recross the seas, and by martial achievements to obliterate the memory of former disasters. But the sense of generous

of love, she had decided (in an appeal cause) that true love could not exist between married people. Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. 107. " Nous n'osons contredire l'arrêt de la comtesse de Champagne, qui, par un jugement solennel, a prononcé que la " véritable amour ne peut exister entre époux," p. 110. It was indeed a maxim in the courts of love in Provence, that, " le mariage n'est pas une excuse légitime contre l'amour."

generous shame was not so strong in the minds of the French cavaliers as in that of the monarch, and the royal wish was not espoused. When all thoughts of a crusade had apparently died away, France was astonished at the appearance of a martial missionary in the person of him who had opposed the second holy war. Yet Suger could not be justly charged with an inconsiderate versatility of opinion. He had endeavoured to preserve in the royal mind the idea of the preponderance of royal duties, and he did not now urge the king to fight the Moslems. The abbot, too, might perform actions which were inconsistent with the qualities of a regent or a sovereign. The clergy of the east implored Suger to restore the fortunes of the Holy Land, knowing that he possessed more credit in France than all the other princes and prelates, and that his piety equalled his authority. Papal benediction was bestowed upon him, though the Pope was at first amazed at the enthusiasm of a man nearly seventy years of age: but his influence was exerted in vain. Angry at the timidity of his countrymen, his own courage rose; he resolved to conduct a small army to Palestine himself, and his reliance on the favour of heaven made him hope that the vassals of St. Denys alone would be more powerful than the congregated myriads of Europe.

Europe. To assure himself in the possession of that favour, he repaired in religious humility to the church of St. Martin, at Tours, a place next in sanctity to St. Denys; accepted the signs of a christian militant, and in full confidence that he would not survive the perilous journey, he offered to God the sacrifice of his life. But he was not destined to fall like a religious hero. All aspirations for glory were humbled by a fever; he died at St. Denys, and his successor in the abbacy pursued the usual duties of his station, without superadding those of a martial description.*

* Gervaise, Hist. de Suger, lib. 6. Hist. Lit. de la France, tome 12, art. Suger. I have inserted the above account of the abbot of St. Denys at the recommendation of a judicious writer in the British Critic for May, 1820.

CHAP. X.

STATE OF THE HOLY LAND BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.

Continuation and close of the Edessene history...... Siege and capture of Ascalon......Death of Baldwin III......His successor Almeric......Politics of Egypt ......Saladin......The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt......Final defeat of the Latins......Termination of the Fatimite government ......Saladin becomes lord of Egypt......Death of Almeric......Baldwin IV. his successor......His disposition of his kingdom......His death......Civil strife......Guy de Lusignan king......Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins......Eventful battle of Tiberias......Cruelty of Saladin...... Consequences of the battle of Tiberias......Jerusalem is recaptured by Saladin......Humanity of the conqueror......Tripoli......Antioch......Retrospect.

THE soldiers who marched under the standards of the emperor of Germany and the king of France, possessed all the bravery and resignation which characterised the early champions of the cross. Valour had lost nothing of its daring, enthusiasm no portion of its confidence. But their tactics were more erroneous, and their ambition

CHAP. X.

ambition more selfish and disastrous than those of their precursors. Edessa, for the rescue of which Bernard had preached and worked miracles, was still in Muselman subjection; and the infidels of Asia found that the Christians of Europe were not invincible. The happy result of a battle with Noureddin threw the fortunes of the family of Courtenay into the hands of Joscelyn. But, incapable of estimating the benefits of mingling conciliation with dignity, he abandoned himself to passion, and sent one of his prisoners to the sultan of Iconium, with the insulting message, that he now saw the squire of his daughter's husband, and that a more afflicting sight would soon be before him.* Noureddin burned to revenge this affront, and exhorted his Turcomans by every argument of loyalty and patriotism, to destroy or capture the most terrible of demons, and the great scourge of the Muselmans. They met Joscelyn on the road to Antioch, separated from his troops. For awhile he was safe, because his bribes seduced them from their allegiance; but one of the Turcomans fled and disclosed the matter to the governor of Aleppo, who served his master's interests by sending a squadron, that captured both the faithless soldiers and Courtenay. The unfortunate prince was

A.D. 1150. Close of the Edessene history.

* Ben Latir, p. 559.

was conducted as a captive to Aleppo, where he was cast into prison, and soon afterwards put to death.* Noureddin and the sultan of Iconium held in command almost all the country of Edessa; and the king of Jerusalem went to Antioch, to stop if possible the progress of the storm. The emperor of Constantinople, informed of the success of the Muselmans, made the widow of Joscelyn large offers of money for the surrender of Turbessel, and such places as were remaining in her power. The acceptance or rejection of this offer was a serious question of politics; but Baldwin, knowing both the difficulty of driving the Turks from the Edessene country, and the charge of maintaining a Christian force in it, consented that the lordship of the Courtenays should aggrandise the Greek empire. He and the count of Tripoli, and the principal men of Antioch, conducted the officers of the emperor into the towns of Turbessel, Ravendel, Samosat, and others of inferior note. The countess, with the French and Armenians who had inhabited Edessa, he led to Antioch. The vigilant Noureddin was incessant in his attacks. He poured clouds of arrows into the moving mass of soldiers, old men, women, and children; but the military friars and Red Cross knights,

1151.

* De Guignes, livre 18. Archb. of Tyre, 914-916.

CHAP. X. knights, headed by the king and the count of Tripoli, were equally vigilant, and secured the passage of the poor Edessenes. The Greek emperor had not estimated the difficulty of preserving a state in the heart of the Muselman countries: for in less than a year from its cession, Noureddin made the county of Edessa a mere titular honour. While the disposable forces of the Latin kingdom were occupied in saving their frontiers, a body of the Turks, headed by two princes of the family of Ortok, passed through Damascus, and advanced without opposition even to the Mount of Olives. If they had attacked the affrighted city immediately on their arrival, conquest must have crowned their efforts. But confidence gave birth to indolence; and they suffered sufficient time to elapse for the people to recover from the panic which the presence of the infidels had occasioned. The few knights of the military orders who were in the city, excited the inhabitants to arm; and as their numbers were unequal to a regular defence of the walls, they rushed, under the close covert of the night, into the enemy's camp, set fire to the tents, and carried death and destruction into every quarter. The infidels fled towards Jericho: the king, who had heard of their inroad, met them on his return to Jerusalem, and killed five thousand.

The garrison of Naplousa increased their distress by fresh attacks; and their misery was consummated by their casting themselves into the waters of the Jordan.*

Siege and capture of Ascalon.

These successes stimulated the king to revenge and glory. Ascalon was a strong and important city; its inhabitants were numerous, brave, and rich, and its adjacency to Gaza, the frontier fortress of the Christians, made it an object of anxiety and terror. Gerard, lord of Sidon, with fifteen small ships, guarded the sea from all passage of provisions to the city; while Baldwin, with an army increased beyond its usual force by some new pilgrims, and the most full co-operation possible of the military orders, attacked it by land. The siege continued for five months without any approach to a decision, and at the end of that time a strong fleet from Egypt drove away the ships of Gerard, and relieved Ascalon. The nobility and they who had suffered most declared the propriety of raising the siege; but the clergy and military orders were of a contrary advice, and the opinion of the knights of St. John prevailed with the council, that in the event of their abandoning the city, ambition, nourished by success, would urge the Turks to march to Jerusalem. In

* De Guignes, livre 13. Archb. of Tyre, 919, 922.

CHAP. X.

In every view of politics, therefore, a firm pursuit of the contest was necessary; and so vigorous in consequence were the hostilities of the besiegers, that breaches in the walls were soon made, the Moslems were repulsed in every sally, and the city capitulated to the king.*

July 1153.

Death of Baldwin III. A. D. 1162. Æt. 33.

For the next eight years, the remainder of the reign of Baldwin, Palestine seldom respired from the miseries of war; but the king preserved the state. Lamentations more general and sincere for the death† of any prince, says the archbishop of Tyre, history has not mentioned, than for the loss of Baldwin. In an eight days' march from Beritus to Jerusalem, his obsequies were followed in mute and solemn sorrow, not only by the people of the various towns, but from the fastnesses of Mount Libanus.‡ Baldwin III. had many of the accomplishments of chivalry. He was a knight without

* Archb. of Tyre, 923, 930.

† He died under the hands of a Syrian physician. The Latins did not understand the art of chemical analysis; and, in order to discover whether the medicine of Baldwin were poisonous, they gave a quantity of it to some puppies.

‡ Archb. of Tyre, 909, 954. Saphadin, a brother of Noureddin, died a few years before Baldwin III. and although there was after him a nominal emir of Mosul, yet Noureddin appears to have been a great gainer by his death.

out fear and without reproach. He was eloquent, compassionate, and affable. His attention to religion, and the interests of the church, were praised by his contemporaries. The vivacity, which in early youth led him to gaming and amatory follies, precipitated him afterwards into political imprudence. His conduct was inferior to his courage, but his general chivalric qualities were so much admired and respected by his foe, that when Noureddin was advised by his friends to seize the moment of universal distress at the death of Baldwin, and invade Palestine, the generous Turk replied, "God "forbid that I should take advantage of "the Christians' misfortune. Now that "Baldwin is dead, who is there that I need "fear?"

His successor, Almeric.

Baldwin III. died childless, and, according to the usage of the kingdom, the right to the crown devolved upon his brother Almeric. But some ambitious spirits attempted to shake the foundations of legitimacy. They who had acquired honours in the late wars, contended that the throne should be the reward of valour, for on that principle it had been bestowed upon Godfrey. But the friends of the Bouillon family, and the lovers of hereditary succession, were numerous, and Almeric's own counties of

 Jaffa

CHAP. X.

Jaffa* and Ascalon made him personally a powerful prince. The knights of St. John did not account as a fault his enterprising and ambitious spirit. The grand master exerted himself to appease the contest, and in the exaggerated expressions which fanaticism and interest use, he assured the barons, that, if the laws of the kingdom were not observed, the crown would soon be an appendage to the honours of Noureddin: "the people of Jerusalem will "become slaves of the infidels, and, like the "traitor Judas, you will deliver the Saviour "into the hands of his enemies." By degrees the faction was dissolved, and some unimportant concessions of jurisdiction by Almeric to the lords recalled their patriotism.†

Politics of Egypt.

Six months after his accession to the throne, the king commenced a war with the Egyptians, on occasion of their failure in an annual payment of a tribute which they had promised on the surrender of Ascalon. The progress of the Christians in Egypt was only stopped by the measure which was always ruinous to the natives,

* The county of Jaffa seems always to have been considered as the appanage of the heir apparent. Ascalon had been given to Almeric by his brother Baldwin.

† Archb. of Tyre, 956.

tives, of breaking down the banks of the Nile, and overflowing the country. The political feuds in Cairo were favourable to hostile inroads. The power of the Fatamite caliphs had been usurped by their ministers, who dared to take the name and enjoy the prerogatives of Sultan. While the vizirs commanded the armies, and swayed the government, the caliph was shut up in the mosque or in the seraglio: a devotee or a sybarite. The only mark of power which was left him, was a right to issue the patent for the installation of the vizirs, but he had no choice of persons, and was obliged to confirm in his usurpation every successful rebel. At the time of the Francic invasion, the grand vizir Shawer, who had been a slave, was deposed by a soldier named Dargham, and the unfortunate prince fled to the court of Noureddin. The Turks, the friends of the caliphs of Bagdad, had long wished to destroy the heretical government and religion of the Fatimites. The sultan of Aleppo, therefore, ever ready to embrace an occasion of interfering in Egyptian politics, treated the stranger with magnificence and courtesy, and promised him alliance and friendship. Among the generals of Noureddin were Shiracouch, and his nephew Saladin, men of the pastoral tribe of the Curds, a ferocious and hardy race, that dwelt in the hilly regions

 behind

CHAP. X.

Saladin, 1164.

behind the Tigris.* These valiant leaders of the Syrian force were sent into Egypt. In apprehension of their coming, Dargham had dispatched ambassadors to the Franks, with splendid offers of tribute, if they would give him succour. But before the treaty was concluded, Dargham was vanquished and slain by Shiracouch. Shawer had entered Cairo, and had been reinvested in his dignities. The vizir knew well the sinister designs of the Turks, and not only commanded them to quit Egypt, but imprudently and unjustly refused to acquit himself of the promises which he had made to Noureddin. By the advice of Saladin, Shiracouch sent some troops, who took Pelusium; and so much did this measure intimidate Shawer, that he hastened to complete the treaty which had been opened between Dargham and the Latins. Almeric put himself at the head of an army, and joined his troops to those of the vizir. For several months the allied Christians and Egyptians besieged Shiracouch in Pelusium;

* Sallah-u-deen, or Saladin, was the son of Nizan-u-deen Aiyvub (a Curd from the village of Dewun), who had been commander of a fort, which he was obliged to leave, because his brother Shiracouch had slain a man of high family, who had insulted an unprotected female. See the Persian MSS. History of the Curds, as cited in Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. chap. x.

sium: but their immediate presence in the holy land was requisite, for they learnt that a Tartarian storm had gathered. Shiracouch, ignorant of this event, accepted the offer of his enemies, that he should leave Egypt, on giving up his prisoners. The treaty was signed, Pelusium was evacuated, and the Turkish general returned into Syria. The Christians recrossed the deserts into Palestine, and then hastened to Harenc, in the Antiochian territory, whose walls had already been battered by the machines of Noureddin. The skilful Turk retired towards Artesia, and the Latins, with their usual presumption and ignorance, fell upon his right wing. No order was preserved, no precautions were taken against surprise, and when the other battalions of Noureddin charged their foe, the Franks were dismayed and vanquished. No one remembered the bravery of his ancestors, or thought of the honour of fighting for liberty or his country. All laid down their arms, and prostrate on the ground implored the clemency of the conqueror. Some thousand men were slain, and among the prisoners were Bohemond and Raymond, the young princes of Antioch and Tripoli,* the imperial lieutenant of

Aug. 1163.

* Bohemond III. was the son of Raymond and Constantia, and succeeded his mother in 1162. Bernardus, 770.

Raymond

CHAP. X. of Cilicia, and Joscelyn de Courtenay.* Harenc yielded, and we may admire Noureddin for his prudence in not pushing his success, by laying siege to Antioch, lest the emperor of Constantinople should be roused to the defence of that important barrier against Turkish inroads.†

The Turks and the Franks contend for lordship over Egypt.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of Almeric's march into Syria subsequently to the siege of Pelusium, yet the town of Paneas, which for several

Raymond II. of Tripoli was son of Raymond I. and Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem.

* This Joscelyn de Courtenay, son of the Joscelyn de Courtenay who died in prison, was the third and last count of Edessa. After nine years' captivity, he was ransomed by his sister Agnes, widow of Almeric, and mother of Baldwin IV. His history was mingled with that of Jerusalem, as we shall soon see. He married Agnes, daughter of Henry le Bufle, and had two daughters, who united themselves in marriage to French and German gentlemen of undistinguished families. Le Lignage d'Outremer, p. 239. The Asiatic branch of the Courtenays expired with Joscelyn III.

† The Egyptian expedition and its consequences are mentioned by the archbishop of Tyre, 958, 961. Bernardus, 772, &c.: but more fully in the Arabic writers Ben Latir, Abulfeda, Abulfaragius, Benscounah, Bohadin, and Abulmahasen, collected by De Guignes, in the thirteenth book of his history. I have also used the more ample extracts from Ben Latir, in the first volume of the Notices des MSS. du Roi.

several years had belonged to the Latins, now fell under the dominion of Noureddin. Almeric exerted himself with becoming diligence to recover the Christian affairs from their apparent wreck near Artesia, and surprised and gratified the Franks by redeeming the young prince of Antioch: for Noureddin had in most instances preferred the possession of his captives to the acceptance of the largest ransoms.* After destroying two castles of the French on the borders of Arabia,† Shiracouch wished to execute those ambitious designs upon Egypt which his view of its weak state had formed in his mind. Noureddin concerted with him plans for the execution of his projects. Their preparations were extensive, and they disdained not to try the influence of superstition; and, at their request, the caliph of Bagdad summoned the Muselmans of all Syria to chastise the schismatical Fatimites. The Latin States were equally vigorous in completing their military equipments. The cavaliers were fired with the hopes of glory and of conquest, and such persons as could not share

* But Raymond, count of Tripoli, was not released till 1171. His ransom was 80,000 pieces of gold.

† So little satisfied was Almeric with the Templars who guarded one of these castles, that he hanged a dozen of them.

CHAP. X. share the dangers, largely contributed to assist the wants of their warlike compatriots. The views of Almeric were not less ambitious than were those of Noureddin; but the selfishness of the Latin prince was masked by policy, for the augmentation of the general Muselman power, by the junction of the crowns of Aleppo and Egypt, would have been deeply injurious to the Christian interest. The king of Jerusalem marched to Gaza, and reached Pelusium before the army of Shiracouch. The timid and vacillating Shawer heard of his arrival with dread, but when news was brought to him that the Turks had passed the frontier, he treated his nominal allies with friendship, and conducted them to Cairo. Shiracouch soon arrived within ten miles of the camp of the Christians, but in his course over the Syrian desert a storm of tremendous violence had unexpectedly arisen. Most of his camels, and hundreds of his men, were enveloped in an agitated sea of sand, and the feeble remains of his army were therefore unable to cope with the healthy and vigorous Christian troops. Shiracouch recrossed the Nile directly Almeric proposed to march against him; but as his retiring only suspended, without finally removing, the danger, the Egyptians wished to renew their former treaties with the Franks, and even to augment the tribute. Two hundred

hundred thousand pieces of gold were accordingly paid to the king, and he was promised a similar largess upon the condition of his remaining in Egypt till he had annihilated the Turkish force. For the ratification of the treaty on the part of the caliph, Almeric sent the wise Hugh of Cesarea, and Geoffrey Fulk, a knight Templar, to Cairo. Preceded by a band of royal attendants, armed with sabres, the ambassadors walked through several dark passages, at the entrance of each of which stood a troop of Moorish guards prepared to salute the grand vizir. They then entered into a suite of rooms and colonnades open to the day, exhibiting in a thousand forms and combinations Asiatic elegance and Egyptian magnificence. They beheld with astonishment and rapture marble porticos, carved and gilded ceilings, and tesselated pavements. Their ears were saluted with the warbling of rare birds, and the murmur of fountains, and they beheld animals which were only known to the people of the west by the description of poets. At length they reached the saloon of the caliph. The vizir prostrated himself three times, in outward respect for a power which he did not acknowledge, and a veil, richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones, was withdrawn from the throne. He approached and kissed the hands of the royal slave,

slave, acquainted him with the purpose of the Christians' visit, and informed him that he must give his hand to the ambassadors, in pledge of his solemn intention to preserve peace. The ceremonious courtiers, ignorant of the nature of real dignity, implored him not to descend to so humiliating a proceeding. The caliph stretched forth his hand, covered with a glove, but the envoys, not participating in the surrounding civility, refused to take it, alleging as their reason, that their master had given his naked hand to the Fatimite deputy, in token of his assent to the treaty, and that the Muselman prince ought to ratify it by the same forms. The caliph smiled, and yielded to the noble pride of the knight.

In the meanwhile the Turks encamped on the western bank of the Nile opposite Cairo. Almeric endeavoured to cross the river: Shiracouch, however, not only prevented him, but made himself master of the little island of Mahalla, which is the commencement of the Delta. The Franks regained the island, and then effected their passage. Their enemy went southward, and marched incessantly for five days. He was overtaken by Almeric, and the greater part of his forces; with the remainder his generals had garrisoned the fortifications of Cairo, and even the seraglio itself. When the Turks

Turks heard of the approach of the Franks, most of the emirs advised an immediate flight into Syria: their force, they said, was small, and if defeated, the scattered soldiers would be murdered by the Egyptian peasants. But a mameluk of Noureddin exclaimed, that he who feared the swords of the enemy, ought to quit the service of kings, and be immured in a harem. "Gratitude to Noureddin requires "the sacrifice of our lives, when he commands "us to prevent the infidels from possessing "themselves of Egypt." The courage of the emirs revived, and the cry for battle resounded through the hall of council. A contemporary Arabian writer numbers the Syrian force at only one thousand: but William of Tyre, also a contemporary, says that there were twelve thousand Turks, most of whom were heavily armed, and eleven thousand Arabs who used the lance. The same historian estimates the force of the Franks at a few more than three thousand, with a crowd of cowardly useless Egyptians, and some lightly armed Turcople cavalry. The command of the Moslems was given by Shiracouch to his valiant nephew. The ground was uneven, by reason of several hills of sand, which it was the first care of the Syrians to get possession of. Saladin then formed his line of battle, and placed the baggage

CHAP. X.

gage in the centre, lest it should be pillaged by the peasants. Shiracouch, thinking that the Latins would press upon the centre with all their force, in the expectation of his being at his usual station, gave orders that it should yield; and he placed himself at the right with the bravest part of his army. The prescience of Shiracouch was soon apparent. The attack was made, and succeeded, and the Franks, disappointed that the right wing was not equally penetrable, fell into a brief, but fatal confusion. Hugh of Cesarea, who commanded them, was taken prisoner. Night and darkness separated the combatants. To the surprise of the Muselmans, the next morning the Latins marched in quiet order through a little valley between two hills, whereon the Turks were posted, and went to Lamonia; and shortly afterwards returned to Cairo, defeated but not disgraced.

With that promptitude of decision, and rapidity of march, which so frequently aided the Turks more than their evolutions in battle, Shiracouch proceeded to Alexandria, and his boldness terrified the people into a surrender of the city. Almeric, on his part, was equally vigorous. He followed the Curdite prince, and encamped within eight miles of him, intercepted the purveyors of provisions to the people, and stationed a sufficient naval force on the Nile, to

to prevent the usual communication between Upper and Lower Egypt. Famine began to appear in Alexandria, and leaving Saladin to defend it against the Franks, Shiracouch, with one thousand soldiers, passed into the higher provinces; but Almeric, thinking that his intentions were to surprise Cairo, immediately took the road to that city: his march was arrested by a message from an Egyptian emir that the people of Alexandria were prepared to assist him, if he would endeavour to relieve them from Tartarian subjection. Almeric returned, and placed his battering engines against the walls. The Egyptians, seeing the destructive effects of the immense stones which were cast from the military machines of the Latins, thought of driving the soldiers from the city. In the midst of his endeavours, by entreaties and by threats, to quiet the tumult, Shiracouch, laden with booty, arrived in the vicinity. By the medium of his captive, Hugh of Cesarea, the Turk proposed to Almeric that there should be a mutual exchange of prisoners, and that on condition of the road into Syria being opened to the Turks, they would quit Egypt. Accordingly in a few days the standards of Almeric and of Shawer were hoisted on the walls of Alexandria; Saladin and his uncle took the road for Damascus;

CHAP. X. 1167.

eus; a Christian was put into Cairo, and the king went to Ascalon.*

Peace was never desired by the Turkish powers, except with the view of making additional preparations for war. The treaty between Almeric and Shiracouch was a mere political artifice, and when they returned to their several countries the subjugation of Egypt alike occupied the mind of each. The natural bounties, and the defenceless state of that land, presented to the eye of ambition an object both worthy and easy of conquest. The Turks and the Christians concealed their selfishness: the one party by censuring the Egyptians for entering into friendship with the enemies of the prophet, and the other party, by pretending that the Egyptians had secretly treated with Noureddin since the departure of the Latins. Manuel Comnenus, the Greek emperor, had lately given his niece in marriage to the king of Jerusalem, and in the intercourse between the monarchs which this festive event occasioned, it was agreed that the imperial navy should aid the land forces of Almeric. The grand master of

* Archb. of Tyre, 961, 974, and the Arabic writers in the 13th book of De Guignes, are my authorities for the interesting events in Syria, in 1167.

of the Hospitallers had wasted such treasures as were at his command in folly and crime, and therefore urged the war. The majority of his order had as little principle as himself: yet some contended that peace was the object of religion, and that the sword should never be drawn by a religious order for purposes of conquest. The Templars refused assistance; we will hope from motives of conscience, and not from jealousy of the superiority of the forces of the knights of St. John. Their reasoning was just, if not sincere, that no act of hostility had been committed by the caliph, and that therefore there was no ground for a hostile course. Almeric had the advantage of Noureddin in point of time, and, heading one of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Palestine, he left Jerusalem avowedly for the purpose of taking Hems in Syria. But he suddenly turned to the Egyptian side, crossed the desert, and in ten days arrived at Pelusium. The city was soon stormed and sacked, and so furious were the Christians that they seemed to be jealous of the Oriental character to inhumanity. Some of the Egyptians sunk into despair, others rose into courage at the cruelty of the Franks. The caliph implored the protection of Noureddin, and so completely had horror triumphed over Asiatic delicacy, that in his

Nov. 1168.

CHAP. X.

his letters he enclosed the hair of the women of his seraglio. Shawer raised soldiers in every quarter, and burnt the old town of Foskat, between Pelusium and Cairo, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. On the road from Pelusium to the capital of Egypt, the Christians were met by the envoys of the vizir, who, knowing the avariciousness of Almeric, requested peace, and offered a million pieces of gold as the price of it. The soldiers anticipated nothing but the pillage of Cairo, but Almeric, blinded by his favourite passion, acquiesced in the proposition, accepted one hundred thousand pieces, and even consented to a cessation of arms, in order that the remainder might be collected from the provincials. By blandishments and artful persuasions, Shawer kept his allies at rest till the armies of Aleppo reached the frontier of Egypt. Enraged at the successful cunning of the vizir, Almeric shook off the demon of avarice: but the moments for action had passed, and he was compelled to make a disgraceful retreat into Syria. His navy also had not received the promised co-operation of imperial ships, and after watching for a short time the entrance of the Nile, it returned to the harbours of Palestine. All the odium of defeat was cast upon the grand master of the Hospitalians. The friends

Final defeat of the Latins. February, 1169.

friends of the king condemned the man against whom indignation had arisen as the squanderer of the treasures of St. John, and the knights partook of the general feeling, and deprived him of his titles and honours.*

Shiracouch, the deliverer of Egypt, received such distinguished marks of gratitude from the caliph Adhed, that Shawer was alarmed for the existence of his own authority. In his dark ferocious bosom he revolved the means of securing the person of the successful stranger; but before he could attempt to execute his purposes, he himself was seized by Saladin and his friends, and at the command of the caliph his head was struck off. Shiracouch was then invested with the dignities of grand vizir of Egypt. But he lived only two months in the enjoyment of them. He always styled himself the subject of Noureddin, and his lieutenant in Egypt. Noureddin himself was detained in Syria by a war with some rebellious subjects, and he was too good a politician to throw all his strength on foreign expeditions, while perils surrounded his own dominions. On the death of Shiracouch the emirs of his army pressed their several claims to the caliph for the lofty and dangerous station. Never had there been

* Archb. of Tyre, 978-980. De Guignes, ii. 201-204.

CHAP. X. so bright an opportunity of reducing the power of the vizir, and the caliph therefore resolved to nominate some individual, whose pretensions were not founded on rank or great success in arms. Saladin had unwillingly followed his uncle to the wars: he was devoted to love and pleasure, and he was almost devoid of authority in the army. Adhed consequently named him grand vizir. For a while the caliph appeared to be a real sovereign, and the emirs of Shiracouch's army deserted their successful compeer. But some chiefs, and particularly the Curds, were recalled, and Saladin was so bountiful and judicious in his distribution of the treasures which as chief minister he commanded, that he laid the foundation of permanent power. Egypt was now in the hands of the Syrians, and the people of Jerusalem apprehended that the fleets of Damietta would ravage their coasts, and hinder the passage of the pilgrims. They resorted again to their usual resource, the resource when they were no longer able to assist themselves, and dispatched ambassadors to the princes of the west, and to the emperor of Constantinople. The tale of woe was heard in Europe with cold commiseration, and produced no active assistance; but Manuel prepared a considerable navy for the succour of the Franks. The united forces of the Greeks and Latins laid

laid siege to Damietta, but famine, the rains of winter, and, above all, the negligence, and even treason of some of the holy warriors, rendered a fifty days' siege ineffectual. They were alarmed too by the news that Noureddin was hastening into Egypt, to check a rebellion which some of the nobility of the country had raised against the vizir. The march of the sultan would have been as destructive to the Franks, as serviceable to Saladin: but it was stopped by the general desolation which an earthquake occasioned. Most of the cities in Syria were destroyed, the wretched people of Aleppo took up their abode in the fields, round the ruins of their town, and even the solid walls and towers of Antioch were levelled with the ground. Yet Saladin not only recovered his authority over Egypt, but took from the Christians the towns of Gaza and Darum: two places which were regarded as the keys of the kingdom of Palestine on its Egyptian frontier. On one occasion the Latins violated a treaty of peace, and robbed some merchants; and although Saladin compelled them to renew the treaty, yet they did not return the whole of the plunder.

November 1169.

Noureddin thought that the time was arrived for taking from the Fatamite caliphs the vestige of

Termination of the Fatimites of Egypt. 1171.

CHAP. X. of their spiritual dignity: but his cautious lieutenant dreaded lest a popular insurrection should be excited at so bold a revolution. However, one of his council ascended the oratory before the khatib or general reader, and offered the public prayer in the name of the caliph of Bagdad. No cry of astonishment, no burst of rage and indignation at this offence to national principles, broke the solemn tranquillity of devotion. In a few days the will of the court spread through the country, and the people silently submitted to the subversion of their altars. Adhed was stretched on the bed of sickness during these transactions; and he died in ignorance of the revolution.* Saladin seized the immense stores of gold and precious stones which the luxurious and magnificent spirit of the Fatimites had amassed. He kept in the seraglio the children of Adhed, and sold his slaves. The important change was soon communicated to Bagdad. The grateful caliph Mosthadi sent a robe of linen and two swords to Saladin, and confirmed him in the title of Noureddin's lieutenant in Egypt. The green silk on the pulpits in Egypt gave way to the black ensigns

* There is no foundation for the archbishop of Tyre's assertion that Saladin put him to death.

ensigns of the Abassides; and the schism of two hundred years' duration in the Moslem church was healed.

Saladin lord of Egypt.

Elated and arrogant, Saladin began to murmur at his obligation of acknowledging the lordship of Noureddin: and when summoned on some occasion of war to join his standard, he declined attendance; and his ambitious spirit appeared in the frivolity of his excuse. Noureddin, in anger at his lieutenant, threatened to march into Egypt and chastise his insubordination. In a council of the emirs, Saladin declared that arms should be taken up if Noureddin attempted to execute his threat. But the father of Saladin stopped the haughty and impetuous youth, and solemnly protested, that so absolute did he consider the power of Noureddin to be, that were he to command the head of Saladin to be cut off, he would not hesitate to sacrifice his own paternal feelings. In moments of privacy, however, Nodgemeddin unfolded his breast to his son. He reproached him for permitting his designs even to be surmised by men who were jealous of his pre-eminence, and ready to betray him. "Noureddin will know all "immediately. Write to him straight, and "prevent his coming by the humility of your "submission." As the old politician apprehended, the Syrian lord was informed of the

CHAP. X.

emirs' deliberations; for, by the means of carrying pigeons, he was quickly made acquainted with every transaction in his vast empire. But an humble letter of Saladin, and the daily hostilities between the Syrians and the Latins, checked his suspicions.

1171-1173.

War continued to rage between the Christians and the infidels, but with no decisive issues. Noureddin was also occupied in chastising rebellious princes; and as the design of Saladin to render himself independent became every day more visible, Noureddin resolved to go into Egypt, and take from him the government. But he was seized by a quinsey, and died at Damascus. The strong expression of Abulfeda, that a volume could not contain an enumeration of his virtues, receives some countenance from the manner in which he was spoken of by Christians. The archbishop of Tyre celebrates his justice, his clemency, and religious disposition.* Though the greatest Muselman

Death of Noureddin.

* Noureddin had occasion to reduce into good obedience Kilidge Arslan II. the sultan of Iconium; and the first condition in the treaty was, that he should make a new profession of faith; for he was suspected of being attached to the sect of philosophers. Ben Latir, I. 574. I may add, some people thought that he wished to become a Christian; and the Pope wrote him a long letter on the subject, which, if any person be troubled with insomnium, he may read in M. Paris,

Muselman prince of his age, he was as simple in his dress as the meanest peasant. In his reign the laws were so well administered, that Damascus was crowded with strangers. The public revenues were never distributed by the king except in the presence of the doctors of the law; and so small a portion did he reserve for the support of his dignity, that his queen complained of his parsimony. But he replied, "I fear God, and am no more than the trea-"surer of the Moslems. Their property I "cannot alienate; but I still possess three "shops in the city of Hems; these you may "take, and these alone I can bestow." In every part of his dominions he built mosques and hospitals, and places of refreshment for travellers. The ascetic, too, might find a convent, and the studious a school. But the most beneficial of all his institutions was a tribunal for the redress of wrongs which emirs and governors had committed on their subjects. Power acknowledged the dignity of genius; for men of learning were so much the objects of his attention, that he arose to meet them, and never required them to observe the Asiatic custom of standing in the presence of their sovereign.*

2 E 4 The

M. Paris, p. 94, 97. The good Catholics thought, that in consequence of this letter, the sultan was baptized in secret.

* D' Herbelot, art. Noureddin.

CHAP. X.

The death of the Syrian lord was heard of with joy by the Franks. Almeric suddenly marched an army to Paneas. The widow of Noureddin commanded the fortress, and endeavoured to purchase a peace from the king. But, in order to extort a larger sum, he laid vigorous siege to the place. After fifteen days, however, of incessant attacks, he abandoned the country, having first accepted the money which the garrison had offered at the commencement. This was the last event of the feeble reign of Almeric. He died on his return to Jerusalem. Avarice had for years been in him a far more powerful passion than ambition. He was cold, selfish, mean, and degenerate. He was less learned than his brother, though his disposition to taciturnity and seriousness was favourable to the acquisition of knowledge. Both kings studied, and, to some extent, practised religion; but as Baldwin was the greater friend of the clergy, his character has descended to posterity in a more lofty strain of panegyric.*

Death of Almeric, July 1173, Æt. 38.

The

* Archb. of Tyre, 956-7, 981, 995. De Guignes, ii. 205, 211. My "faithful chronicler," William of Tyre, now fails me. A continuation of him to the year 1275 was written in old French, by Hugh Plagon, a man who lived at Rome in the thirteenth century. It is contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. I have found it of the highest value. I have had great aid from the work on the holy

The marriage of Almeric with Agnes de Courtenay gave birth to the seventh monarch of Jerusalem. But Baldwin IV. was a leper: after many struggles with disease, he found that his corporeal infirmities incapacitated him from performing the royal functions; and he committed the government to a French cavalier named Guy de Lusignan, who had married Sybilla, daughter of Almeric, and widow of a lord of the Montferrat family. But the regent had neither talents nor courage for the difficult office:

CHAP. X.

Baldwin IV.

holy wars of Bernard the treasurer. The author flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century; and his book closes with the events of the year 1230. He evidently took a great deal from William of Tyre and other respectable authorities: but he is occasionally original, and never was an abject copyist The work was originally written in French, and was then translated into Latin by some Italian writer; and in this versification it is contained in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection of Italian Historians Another work of a compiler which, in the dearth of original writers, I have found of use, is that of Marin Sanudo, detto Torsello, a noble Venetian, who lived in the fourteenth century. He made five journies into Armenia, Syria, Egypt, &c. He was a man of large inquiry, and has given the history, and described the natural, social, and political condition of the countries which he visited. He was fanatically bent on the necessity and advantages of a new crusade; he pressed Pope John XXII. to second him; he travelled through Europe; visited the great; explained to them the state of the East; but he could not obtain any assistance.

CHAP. X.

office: the kingdom was torn with the dissensions of the royal family; and Baldwin summoned his brother-in-law to court, for the purpose of annulling a marriage, which the proud barons declared ought never to have been contracted between a royal heiress and a simple gentleman. But Lusignan failed to appear: the patriarchs and the grand masters interceded for him; but the king would not receive him again to favour; and by a new act of state he gave the crown to the infant son of his sister Sybilla and her Italian lord. Raymond II. count of Tripoli, was nominated regent; and, in order to avoid any suspicion of selfishness, he insisted that the custody of the young monarch should be with Joscelyn de Courtenay; that the castles and fortresses of the kingdom should be kept by the two military orders, except the town of Beritus, the revenues of which ought to support the dignity of the regency. The important clause was added, that if Baldwin V. should die in his minority, Raymond was to continue regent till the Pope, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France had decided between the rival claims of Sybilla and of Isabella the daughter of Almeric by Mary his second wife.* Baldwin IV. died within

Nov. 1183. His disposition of his kingdom.

* Archb. of Tyre, 1040-1043. Cont. of William of Tyre, in

within three years after this wise disposition of his kingdom had been made; and his death was quickly followed by that of the infant monarch. The resolutions of the council were forgotten in the suggestions of ambition; Joscelyn de Courtenay seized Beritus; the patriarch was the friend of Sybilla; the grand master of the Templars hated the count of Tripoli; and with this co-operation of interests, Sybilla and her husband, Guy de Lusignan, became queen and king of Jerusalem.* The injustice and suddenness of this measure filled the country with amazement. The barons were indignant at this defiance of their power; and as Guy de Lusignan had more of the courtly than the martial virtues, they despised their new sovereign.† They placed

Death of Baldwin IV. and of Baldwin V. Civil strife.

Guy de Lusignan king.

in Martenne, vol. v. p. 585, &c. Bernardus, c. 145. p. 781. Isabella was at that time married to Humphrey, lord of Thoron.

* Bernardus, c. 147. p. 782.

† So despicable was Guy de Lusignan, that his brother Geoffrey was right in saying, "those who made my brother "a king, would have made me a god if they had known me." Guy de Lusignan was despicable for his crimes as well as for his weakness. He had murdered Patric, earl of Salisbury. Henry II. banished him from the English dominions in France, the scene of the murder; the exile assumed the cross, and went to the holy land. Hoveden, p. 514. Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. p. 175. Voltaire, in his tragedy of Zara, has made Lusignan a brave and noble personage; with

CHAP. X.

placed their hopes on Humphrey de Thoron; but he pusillanimously declined the honour of the crown of Jerusalem, and Sybilla's genius awed him into submission. Most of the barons then yielded to circumstances, and took the oath of fealty to the new king and queen.* The count of Tripoli still withheld his allegiance; Guy

with the same poetical license as Rowe used, when he adorned Tamerlane with every virtue under heaven.

* Hoveden and some other English writers have recorded a story, that the count of Tripoli and his friends proffered their allegiance to the queen, upon the reasonable condition that she should be divorced from Lusignan, and should chuse such a person for the partner of her throne as would be able to defend the kingdom. To this proposal the queen expressed a ready assent, requiring from the barons in return their oaths that they would acknowledge for sovereign whomsoever she elected. In full expectation that the choice would fall on the powerful count of Tripoli, they subscribed to the terms. A sentence of divorce from Lusignan was easily obtained by the queen; and the ceremony of her coronation took place. After she had been crowned, she put the diadem on the head of Lusignan: she saluted him as her husband, bent the knee to him as king, and cried aloud in a commanding voice and gesture, "those whom "God has joined, man must not separate." The people were imposed upon by the grandeur of the spectacle; and the astonished lords were obliged to submit. But much credit cannot be given to this entertaining story; for it is at total variance with the narratives of Plagon and Coggeshall, who are far better witnesses than Hoveden.

Guy de Lusignan, as violent as he was weak, besieged him in Tiberias; Raymond allied himself with Saladin, and nobly declared that he would not make peace with the usurper till the town of Beritus was restored to himself as regent.* His Muselman allies craved his permission to pass into the royal territories. The count of Tripoli was divided in his good disposition to the Christians, and his fear of the anger of Saladin; and he endeavoured to reconcile his duties by allowing the Muselmans to cross the Jordan in the morning, and to repass it in the evening. He warned the Christians against quitting their homes during this singular incursion of the Moslems; but the imprudence of the grand master of the Templars broke the peace. One hundred and forty knights fearlessly attacked seven thousand Muselmans; but only two of the cavaliers survived to repent of their rashness.

Saladin resolves upon the destruction of the Latins. A.D. 1186.

At this period the power of Saladin had attained its height, and the hour was come when the Latins were to feel the dreadful effects of the consolidation of the Muselman strength. By the reputation of his talents and military virtues, by policy, by artifice, and also by the dagger (for in those days people saw what was passing,

* Bernardus, c. 140, 141.

CHAP. X. passing, and kept a profound silence), by all these means, Saladin became lord of Syria and Egypt; the names of the sons of Noureddin were obliterated from the coins of the kingdom, and the books of the mosque, and the atabeks of Syria sunk into oblivion. In his rise to supreme dominion, he was often obliged to check his master passion, hatred of the Christians; and though, from the death of Almeric to the accession of Guy, the Latin kingdom could not boast perfect peace,* yet the balance of power remained

* The wars between Saladin and the Christians, in the reign of Baldwin IV. are not worthy of detail, for they led to no decisive issues. One circumstance, however, should be mentioned. A few hundred of the military orders fearlessly attacked some thousand Muselmans. Only two or three of the valiant band survived the battle. The bravery of the troop was so heroic as to receive the admiration of the enemy. Some of the knights, after having lost their swords, threw themselves on the foe, and fought with their fists. Others drew the Saracenian arrows from their bodies, and hurled them at the foe. One of the Templars, named James de Maille, mounted on a white horse, fought so nobly, that the Saracens called him St. George, and, after the battle, they hung over him with respect, and even drank his blood, thinking they could thereby acquire his courage. Coggeshall, p. 547, 552. Hist. Hieros. in Bongarsius, p. 1151. The last-quoted historian adds a circumstance which, if Mr. Burke had known of, he certainly would have introduced into his opening speech on Hastings's impeachment, as a beautiful counterpart to a well-known delicate tale he told on that occasion.

mained in its usual state, for Saladin's wars in Syria did not allow him to overwhelm the Franks. His love of religious hostilities wanted no stimulus, but the conduct of one of the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem would have driven the most peaceable monarch to war. In the vicissitudes of fortune, Reginald,* lord of Antioch, had recovered his liberty, but he again found himself a soldier of chance, for Constantia was dead, and her son had taken the reins of government. His superficial accomplishments once more found their admirers; the lady of Karac and Montreal gave him her hand and barony; and thus by his first and his third marriage he became a powerful lord on the Arabian frontiers of Palestine. But in contempt of all existing treaties of peace between the nations, Reginald incessantly plundered and devastated the Moslem states. Saladin called for redress from the court of Jerusalem, but the government was too feeble to chastise a powerful ruffian, and in revenge the Moslems seized as prisoners fifteen hundred pilgrims, who had been

* The previous history of Reginald will be found in a subsequent page, when the general history of Antioch is detailed. I have avoided much confusion and obscurity by arranging and classifying events: and the present case is almost the only one where that mode of writing has been attended with inconvenience.

CHAP. X. been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. But Reginald was unchanged; he intercepted the caravans between India and Egypt, and even advanced to the valley of Rabid, within ten miles from Medina.* The sacrilegious designs and ceaseless robberies of the lord of Karac, inflamed the anger of Saladin to madness, and he swore by God and his prophet that he would retort the aggressions, and plunge his sword into the heart of the infidel dog. When tranquillity succeeded fierce civil discord, Saladin summoned his Turks to his standard, and fifty thousand horse, and a multitude of foot soldiers, heard with joy their leader's intention to capture Jerusalem itself. After some vicissitudes of war, he removed the seat of hostility to the castle of Tiberias, which was at that time the residence of the wife of the count of Tripoli. As soon as the Muselman storm began to blacken the horizon of the Christians, the magnanimous Raymond forgot the injustice of Lusignan, and devoted himself to the general good. When the news of the siege of Tiberias reached Jerusalem, the count of Tripoli declared that he would willingly suffer his city to become the prey to the Muselmans, and advised the king to adhere to the tactics of defensive war, and in time

1187.

* Abulfeda, iv. 53.

time the Saracenian army would be dissolved, by reason of the want of water and provisions. But the grand master of the Templars persuaded the feeble Lusignan that there was treachery veiled under this apparent disinterestedness, and accordingly it was resolved that arms should be opposed by arms. Many of the towns were drained of their soldiers, and popular impatience co-operated with the precipitancy of the monarch. Every breast beat high with the noble thought of exterminating the Muselmans, and prudence never whispered that there was danger in placing the fortunes of the kingdom on the event of a single battle. Saladin was encamped near the lake of Tiberias, and the Christians hastened to encounter him. But they soon experienced those evils, from heat and thirst, which the count of Tripoli had prophecied would be the fate of their foes if the Christians remained at rest. In the plain near Tiberias the two armies met in conflict. For a whole day the engagement was in suspence, and at night the Latins retired to some rocks, whose desolation and want of water had compelled them to try the fortune of a battle. The heat of a Syrian summer's night was rendered doubly horrid, because the Saracens set fire to some woods which surrounded the Christian camp. In the morning the two armies were

July 1187. Eventful battle of Tiberias.

 for

CHAP. X. for a while stationary, in seeming consciousness that the fate of the Moslem and the Christian worlds was in their hands. But when the sun arose, the Latins uttered their shout of war, the Turks answered by the clangor of their trumpets and atabals, and the sanguinary tumult began. The bishops and clergy were, according to custom, the nourishers of martial virtue. They ran through the ranks, cheering the soldiers of the church militant. The piece of the true cross was placed on an hillock, and the broken squadrons continually rallied round it. Piety was equally efficacious on the minds of the Muselmans, and the Saracenian hatred of infidels was enkindled by the religious enthusiasm of the Christians. The crescent had more numerous supporters than the cross, and for that reason triumphed. The battle ended in the massacre of the Latins. They who fell in the field were few in number, when compared with those who were slain in the flight, or were hurled from the precipices. The fragment of holy wood was taken from the hands of the bishop of Acre. The king, the master of the Templars, and the marquis of Montferrat, were captured. The chief of the Hospitalians fled as far as Ascalon, and then died of his wounds.*

In

* Herold, ch. vi. Neub. lib. iii. cap. xvi. xvii. and xviii.
Bohadin,

Cruelty of Saladin.

In the time of the Crusades, clemency to the vanquished was not the virtue of Christians, and it has in no age been the quality of the Moslems. The valour of the Templars and Hospitalians should have been respected by the brave and victorious Muselman; but he hated them, because he had feared them, and death, or conversion to Islamism, was the only choice which he offered to such of the knights as had been made prisoners. On this dreadful occasion, no selfish and secular considerations obstructed the principles of virtue; the religious heroism of the cavaliers equalled their military firmness, and all of them shewed by their manner of dying the sincerity of their professions.* The king and nobility anticipated the choice of apostacy or martyrdom; but Saladin presented

2 F 2 a cup

Bohadin, ch. xxxv. Matthew Paris, James de Vitry, and the anonymous author of the history of Jerusalem, at the end of the first volume of the Gesta Dei per Francos, speak in very general terms of this eventful battle. One of the Templars, in a letter which is preserved in Hoveden, p. 637, estimates the loss of the Christians at thirty thousand!! But there were only twelve hundred loricati and twenty thousand foot soldiers engaged. James de Vitry, p. 1118.

* It appears, from the letter cited in the last note, that two hundred and thirty Templars were killed by Saladin after the battle of Tiberias. The number of the Hospitalian heroes I cannot find.

CHAP. X.

a cup of iced water to Lusignan, and by that act of hospitality assured him of his life. The king wished to pass the vessel to Reginald, lord of Karac: but Saladin declared that the violator of truces deserved no mercy, and that in retribution for the attack which he had meditated upon the holy cities in Arabia, he must die or renounce his religion. His death was more honourable than his life; virtue had been stifled, but not totally extinguished in the breast of Chatillon; and at this fatal moment he shone a religious hero, and avowed that no Christian should preserve his existence on base conditions. The scymitar of the Muselman severed his head from his body. No more blood was shed, but the vanquished king and nobility were detained as prisoners till their ransom should be agreed upon.*

Consequences of the battle of Tiberias.

After having offered thanks to God and his prophet for the victory at Tiberias, Saladin began to reap the consequences. Acre, Jaffa, Cesarea, and Beritus, had been drained of their garrisons, and therefore yielded to him. Tiberias, the immediate occasion of the battle, also fell, and the heroes of Asia encompassed Tyre. The citizens were prepared to deliver the keys to Saladin; but the bravery of a young cavalier revived

* D'Herbelot, art. Salaheddin, vol. iii. p. 177.

revived their noble spirit. Conrad,* a son of William III. marquis of Montferrat, was one of the most adventurous knights of the day. His services at Constantinople, in quelling a rebellion, had been rewarded by the hand of the emperor's sister; but he quickly left the palaces of luxury for the theatre of honour. Before his arrival in Palestine, the Muselmans had triumphed near Tiberias, and Conrad heard that in the general wreck of the Christian affairs his father had fallen into the hands of Saladin. He repaired to Tyre, and his bold attitude checked the Turks, who withdrew to the more important city of Ascalon. In the anxiety of doubt Saladin was cruel; but when success was certain, he was generally merciful. He offered peace to the Ascalonians; but they cried that they cared not for their own lives: it was only the state of their children, and of the king of Jerusalem, that they regarded. Saladin was affected by their disinterestedness; he took them under his protection, and promised soon to set the king at liberty.

Jerusalem became the refuge for such of the Christians as had escaped the swords or the chains of the Turks. One hundred thousand

 people

* Conrad and the husband of Sybilla, mentioned in p. 426, were brothers.

people are said to have been in the place: but so few were the soldiers, and so feeble was the government of the queen, that the holy city was no object of terror. Saladin declared his unwillingness to stain with human blood a spot which even the Turks held in reverence, as having been sanctified by the presence of many of God's messengers. He offered the people, on condition of the surrender of the city, money and settlements in Syria. Prudence suggested the acceptance of this offer, but, clinging to that feeling of superstition which had given birth to the holy wars, the Christians declared that they would not resign to the infidels the place where the Saviour had died. Saladin was indignant at this rejection of his kindness, and swore to enter the place sword in hand, and retaliate the dreadful carnage which the Franks had made in the days of Godfrey of Bouillon. The people cast their eyes on Balean of Ibelin as their commander. The veteran organised the forces, and put arms into the hands of the citizens. So great was the enthusiasm, that the clergy contributed the golden ornaments of the churches, which were all carried to the mint, and converted into money. Saladin attacked the western, and then the northern sides of the walls. During fourteen days there were various engagements; but the Christians, though brave

to

to desperation, could never destroy the military engines of the Muselmans. The conflicts were dreadful; every one fearlessly exposed his life, because the Moslem fanatics were conscious that if they died they should instantly drink of the waters of Paradise, and because the Christians were happy in exchanging an earthly for a heavenly Jerusalem. At the end of fourteen days the Latins discovered that the walls near the gate of St. Stephen's were undermined. From that moment the defence of the city was abandoned; the clergy prayed for the miraculous protection of heaven, the soldiers threw down their arms, and crowded into the churches. The consternation was augmented by the discovery of a correspondence between some Greeks that were in the place and the Muselmans. The Latins then recollected the proffered clemency of Saladin, and a deputation of them implored a renewal of it. But he urged the force of the oath which he had taken, and that it was ridiculous to capitulate for a fallen town. But, said he, if you will surrender the city to me, I will behave to you with mercy, and allow you to redeem the inhabitants. After some deliberation, the Christians resolved to trust the generosity of the conqueror. Saladin stipulated that the military and nobles should be escorted to Tyre, and that the Latin population should

 become

CHAP. X. become slaves, if they were not ransomed at the rate of ten crowns of gold for a man, five for a woman, and one for a child.*

Oct. 1187. Recapture of Jerusalem.

After four days had been consumed by the miserable inhabitants in weeping over and embracing the holy sepulchre and other sacred places, the Latins left the city, and passed through the enemy's camp. Children of all ages clung round their mothers, and the strength of the fathers was used in bearing away some little portion of their household furniture. In solemn procession, the clergy, the queen, and her retinue of ladies followed. Saladin advanced to meet them, and his heart melted with compassion, when they approached him in the attitude and with the air of suppliants. The softened warrior uttered some words of pity, and the women, encouraged by his sympathising tenderness, declared that one word of his would remove their distress. "Our fortunes and "possessions," they continued, "you may "freely enjoy; but restore to us our fathers, "our husbands, and our brothers. With these "dear objects we cannot be entirely miserable. "They will take care of us, and that God "whom we reverence, and who provides for the "birds of the air, will not forget our children."

It

* Bernardus, 795, &c. Continuation of William, 612, &c.

CHAP. X.

Saladin's humanity.

It is the generous remark of an enemy, that Saladin was in nothing a barbarian but in name. With courteous clemency he released all the prisoners whom the women requested, and loaded them with presents. This action, worthy of a gentle and Christian knight, was not the consequence of a transient feeling of humanity; for when he entered the city of Jerusalem, and heard of the tender care with which the military friars of St. John treated the sick, he allowed ten of the order to remain in their hospital till they could complete their work of humanity.*

The infidels were once more established in Jerusalem. The great cross was taken down from the church of the sepulchre, and for two days dragged through the mire of the streets The bells of the churches were melted, and the floors and walls of the mosque of Omar were purified with Damascene rose-water. Prayers and thanksgivings were offered to Heaven for the

* Bernardus, p. 801. Contin. William of Tyre, p. 618, &c. Bened. p. 485. In consequence of pecuniary redemption, and Saladin's generosity to Ibelin and other barons, only a few thousand people remained prisoners. Many of the Christians who left Jerusalem went to Antioch: but Bohemond not only denied them hospitality, but even stripped them. They marched into the Saracenian country, and were well received.

CHAP. X. the victory; all individual merit was forgotten, and the conquest of Jerusalem was attributed to the bounty of God, and his desire for the universal influence of Islamism.* Ascalon, Laodicea, Gabala, Sidon, Nazareth, Bethlehem, all those places, and their territories, fell when their great support was gone, and Tyre was almost the only town of consequence which remained to the Christians.† Though the metropolis of the Latin kingdom was lost, all was not lost, and the defence of Tyre presents some interesting scenes. Saladin again prepared to level that city with the ground, and was again opposed by the valiant Conrad. The Tyrians felt the indissoluble union subsisting between the reciprocal duties of allegiance and protection, and bound themselves, in the event of success, to acknowledge the young prince of Montferrat as their chief. A few military friars organised and disciplined the volunteers; all the inhabitants took arms, and even the women shot arrows from the walls, or assisted the operations of their husbands. Saladin cast immense

* Bernardus, p. 801. Nubridge, lib. 3. c. 18. Bohadin, ch. 36, and two letters of the knights Templars in Palestine to their friends in Europe, in Hoveden, p. 637, 645.

† Coggeshall Chron. in Martenne, V. 812. Bohadin, cap. 42, &c.

immense stones into the town, and attacked it with all his efforts,* but the spirit of freedom triumphed over the thirst of conquest, and the Muselmans were necessitated to raise the siege. Some time after the capitulation of Ascalon, Guy de Lusignan, the grand master of the Templars, and others, obtained their liberty: and the husband of Sybilla solemnly renounced to Saladin his title to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The unprincipled Guy took the road for Tyre, and announced his resolve to enter the city as sovereign lord. But the people, more indignant at his cowardice than his perfidy, declared that the prince of the town should be the man who had so nobly preserved its independence. The knights of St. John supported the young cavalier; and it was in vain that the grand master of the Templars, who adhered to his miserable friend, made a vehement resistance to the pretensions of Conrad.†

The

* It is said that during the siege, Saladin caused Conrad's father to be drawn before the walls, and proclaimed that the old man's head should be taken off. But Conrad told the herald that Saladin could not, without the utmost danger to himself, put a prisoner of war to death who had surrendered on his parole.

† Bernardus, p. 801, &c. Neub. lib. 3. c. 19. Diceto, 642. The naval forces of the Tyrians and Pisans attacked Azotus in the year 1188. The Arabic emir was taken, and Conrad exchanged him for the old marquis, who died soon afterwards.

CHAP. X.

Tripoli.

The valour of the citizens of Tripoli checked the victorious Saladin, and the Moslem hero went to the more easy subjugation of the Antiochian states (whose history I shall presently relate), when he heard of the approach to the shores of Palestine of the king of Sicily, who was the first monarch of the west that flew to arms when the direful news reached Europe of the catastrophe at Tiberias. The count of Tripoli died, and with him ceased the dynasty in the east of Raymond count of Tholouse. Raymond II. died childless, and he bestowed his county on his godson, Raymond III., son of Bohemond III. prince of Antioch.*

History of Antioch in the interval of the second and third Crusade. 1149.

Antioch was the state which principally suffered in consequence of the fall of Edessa. The Turks could cross the Euphrates without opposition. The warlike Raymond of Poitiers lost his life in attempting to resist Noureddin; the strong fortress of Apamea yielded to the Muselman, and happily the rivalry of some Syrian Atabeks called him from his career of victory. Raymond's widow, Constantia, disdained for awhile the authoritative advice of the barons of Palestine, to associate with herself in marriage some potent lord, for the better government of Antioch during the minority of her son; but three years after the death of her first lord, she

* See note L.

she elected for her husband Reginald de Chatillon, lord of Karac and Montreal.* The new regent conciliated the Pisans by giving them a settlement in Laodicea, and renewing their privileges in Antioch.† In expectation of a liberal reward from Manuel, Reginald reduced Toros prince of Armenia and Cilicia to subjection. But as the emperor failed in his promises, the prince of Antioch, with more anger than wisdom, sailed to Cyprus, and plundered the imperial states. Manuel did not succomb with tameness to this insult: he led a large army into Antioch; Reginald was compelled to submit to the consequences of indiscretion, and with a halter round his neck he gave his sword to the emperor. Peace was granted to him, and the Grecian force returned to Constantinople. Reginald then directed his arms against the Turks, but after some successes his imprudence and

* The archbishop of Tyre (p. 926) is very severe on the pretensions of Reginald. He upbraids him with being a mere soldier of fortune; but he certainly was of the respectable family of the lords of Chatillon sur Marne. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, &c. I. 445.

† The Pisans seem always to have been the great supporters of the Antiochian and Tripolitan states; if any conclusions may be drawn from the great privileges which the princes of Antioch and Tripoli were continually making to them. See the charters in Muratori, Antiq. Italiæ Med. Ævi, Dissert. 30.

CHAP. X. November, 1160.

and cupidity made him fall into an ambuscade, and he was conducted prisoner to Aleppo. In 1163, Bohemond the third was acknowledged lord of Antioch: but his personal vices, and political profligacy, were deeply injurious to the Christians. He had strengthened his house by marrying his sister Mary to the emperor Manuel, whose wife Irene had died, and by marrying Irene or Theodora, the niece of his brother-in-law. But about the year 1181 (not more than a twelve month after the second marriage) he banished his wife and infant child, and married another woman, and his irregular conduct deserved and received the censures of the church. His own patriarch excommunicated him; in return he confiscated the estates of the prelate and his suffragans, and, disgusted and alarmed at the war between church and state, the respectable inhabitants of Antioch emigrated. But by the wise and benevolent interposition of the different authorities of Jerusalem, peace was restored. The nobles of Antioch returned, and the dignity of the church was preserved by the agreement, that although the functions of the civil and ecclesiastical magistrates should be performed, yet the personal excommunication of Bohemond should continue till he recalled his second wife.*

After

* Arch. of Tyre, 1019, &c.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Saladin carried his conquering army into the principality of Antioch. Five and twenty towns submitted, and Antioch itself became tributary to the Muselmans.*

Retrospect.

The victories of Saladin, and the loss of Jerusalem, were melancholy contrasts to those hopes of the triumph of Christianity over Islamism which the council of Clermont had held out to Europe. In the eighty-eight years that the Crusaders possessed the holy city, peace seldom dwelt about her walls: surrounded by numerous hostile nations, she was in a continual siege; and as great a number of her wars were undertaken for the maintenance of her existence, as for the purposes of conquest. In the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, Asia was in a state of more than usual imbecility. The Arabian and Tartarian storms were spent, the caliphs were pontiffs rather than sovereign princes, and the great empire of their predecessors was dismembered and scattered. But states which are formed by arms, not by policy, are as quick in their rise as rapid in their decay, and ruin and disorder are the scenes of ambition. The passions and abilities of the enterprising lords of Syria raised several powerful governments; the hostile

* Sanutus, lib. 3. pars. 9. cap. 9. Bohadin, cap. 46, &c.

CHAP. X. hostile aspect of the Moslems increased in terror, when the imperial and royal crowns of Germany and France were broken; and the crescent triumphed over the cross when Saladin united and led the Muselman nations to the conquest of Jerusalem.* In strength of body, and personal and military prowess, the Turks and the Franks were equal;† but the Turks were

* The archbishop of Tyre states the consolidation of the Muhammedan powers as a great cause of the overthrow of the Christians, p. 1001.

† Among the causes of the superiority of the Turks over the Latins, in the decline of the kingdom, James de Vitry mentions the improvement of the Muselmans in military equipments. He says, that when the Latins first invaded Palestine, the Saracens were unskilful in battle, and knew only the use of the bow; but that, in the course of time, they acquired Latin discipline, and the Latin mode of fighting, with swords, lances, &c. p. 1115, 1116, in Bongarsius. These assertions are in direct contradiction to the statement of that excellent historian, Albert of Aix, who, in describing the preliminaries to the battle of Doryleum, mentions the armour and shields of the Turks, and, according to him, the archers preceded the heavily armed troops precisely in the Francic fashion. Lib. ii. c. xxvii. p. 206. It cannot, however, be supposed, that the weapons and modes of warfare of the Asiatic soldiers precisely assimilated to the European forms: though it is likely that offensive and defensive armour perpetually varied, and that each of the hostile nations adopted many of the ideas of the other. But a perusal of the historians of the crusades will leave an impression on the mind, that, however varied might have been the minute alterations,

were in multitudes; the Franks were few,* and as the twelfth century was an age of war rather than of policy, the Latins did not by intellectual superiority raise themselves above their enemies. The Christians scrupled not to break

CHAP. X.

terations, yet that the general character of the arms of the respective combatants was different; that the Latins were heavily armed, and chiefly trusted for success to the force and weight of their charge; and that the Turks had lighter arms, and confided in the celerity of their evolutions. The first Crusaders had more enthusiasm, but less discipline, than the last: for there is no doubt that the art of war improved among Christians as time advanced. The atabeks Zenghi and Noureddin, Shiracouch and Saladin, were far greater generals than Kilidge Arslan and Kerboga, and their superiority had, of course, great weight in events.

* An account of the military force of the kingdom of Jerusalem has been already given, p. 319, ante. The state was occasionally assisted by new volunteers from Europe. "The vow which brought them to the holy land was generally for a limited time, at the conclusion of which they were always impatient to depart. Their armies broke up at the most critical conjunctures, as it was not the necessity of the service, but the extent of their vows which held them together. As soon, therefore, as they habituated themselves to the country, and attained some experience, they were gone, and new men supplied their places, to acquire experience by the same misfortunes, and to lose it by the same inconstancy." Burke's Abridgment of English History. Burke's Works, vol. x, p. 493, 8vo. edit.

break treaties* with the Muselmans: they never attempted to conciliate the foe, or to live in terms of large and liberal intercourse. Except in the case of Egypt, they allowed the Saracenian nations to unite, without making any endeavour to break their force, and they were too proud and too ignorant to win any members to their cause, from the great confederacy of Atabeks. Conciliation could only be the result of weakness; a tender pitying forbearance of error was held a criminal indifference by armed saints. The Moslem contempt of infidels was not more sincere than was the hatred which the Christians felt for the supposed enemies

* It was impossible that any respect could be entertained for people like the Latins, who were not only cruel invaders and sanguinary persecutors, but common robbers. At one time Baldwin III. gave the Muselmans liberty of pasturage round Paneas. As soon as the ground was covered with flocks of sheep, the Christian soldiers broke into the country, carried away the animals, and murdered their keepers. Archb. of Tyre, lib. xviii. cap. cxii. The principle of not keeping faith with infidels, seems consequent on a dogma in the Decretals. " Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasti-" cam præstitum non tenet." Tancred and St. Louis were almost the only two eminent Crusaders who distinguished themselves for preferring honesty and truth to utility and convenience.

mies of God. The mere possession by the Muselmans of the land where the son of heaven had lived and died, was a crime in the eyes of the faithful, and prescription, the soundest and most solid title that is known in public jurisprudence, was despised by fanaticism. The people of the east were Moslems, the people of the west were Christians; and the difference of religion blotted out and cancelled all the rights both of nature and society.

The early writers accounted for the evanescence of the Francic state in Palestine, on the false principle, that worldly prosperity is always the reward of virtue, and that vice is never triumphant. The wrath of heaven, they say, visited the crimes of the Croises; and those crimes were so enormous, that a description of them would appear more like a satire than a history. Vice, both in her horrid and her alluring forms, it is affirmed, disgraced the kingdom, and we know not whether to admire most, the declaration of one author,* that the clergy were

 as

* Jacob de Vitry. Amidst the general declamations of this worthy author against vice, I observe some circumstances which made the state of crime peculiarly deplorable. Palestine was the refuge of the abandoned and profligate people of Europe. Justice appears to have been wretchedly administered in the holy land. After the commission of crimes, people fled from the Christian settlements into the Muhammedan

CHAP. X. as depraved as the laity; or to take as another test the singular assertion of an equally grave and eminent historian,* that there was not one chaste woman in Palestine. But whatever might have been the state of morals, although vice was perhaps more prevalent than virtue, although oriental luxury had spread its soft infection, still the history of the first Crusaders shews that the holy sepulchre was redeemed, notwithstanding its champions were utterly unworthy of vindicating its cause; and that, whether in excess or in famine, in profligacy or in holiness, the valour of the martial pilgrims was triumphant. Some other causes must be sought for. The greatness of the power of Saladin has been mentioned. It was the want of union rather than the want of moral virtue, that accelerated the ruin of

Muhammedan states, and purchased impunity by apostacy. J. de Vitry, p. 1097. I do not think that the manners of the Christians were more corrupt at the close, than at the commencement, of the kingdom. In the year 1120, the state was under the affliction of its granaries being devoured by locusts and rats. The political economists thought that this event was the judgment of God on the horrible sins of his people. A council was held at Naplousa, and if the state of morals can be judged of from the code of laws then promulgated, vice must have reached its maturity of corruption. See p. 343, note, ante.

* Archb. of Tyre.

of the Christian kingdom. The evils of the aristocratical nature of the feudal system were experienced, and when the French barons returned to Europe after the failure before Damascus, they stated with truth that the divisions among the Latin princes were one great cause of the Muselmans' success. Civil dissentions among the lords of Palestine paralysed the Christian power.*

The turbulence and ambition of the barons frequently thwarted the general good; but the greatest evils resulted from the altercations of the Hospitallers with the priesthood, and from the mutual jealousy between the two chief military orders. On a former occasion it has been stated, that on account of their martial services, the Papal See granted various privileges to the knights of St. John. Considering that the Hospitallers employed their fortunes for the maintenance of the poor, and the entertainment of pilgrims, the Pope dispensed with their paying tithes to the church. He prohibited the patri-

 arch

* Bayle's observation on the failure of the crusade of Thibaud V. count of Champagne, is a good one: " Par les " raisons ordinaires, c'est à dire par la mauvaise intelligence " des princes croisés, cette expédition n'aboutit à rien." Bayle, art. Thibaut.

CHAP. X. arch from publishing any sentence of interdict or excommunication against them; and they were not to regard any general interdict on the countries wherein their preceptories might be situated. By these means the church of the Hospitallers was perfectly independent of the church of Jerusalem. Perpetual disputes occurred respecting the interference of jurisdiction, and it was the great complaint of the patriarch, that the Hospitallers received men into their communion whom the church had excommunicated.* Rome was made the court for the settlement of these altercations. Most of the bishops of Palestine appeared, and pleaded what they termed the cause of religion, and called upon the Pope to grant them tithes, and to restore the primitive discipline of the church. Only two of the cardinals were disposed to rescind the papal decrees, and it was clear to the rest that there was no sufficient reason for weakening the papal authority over the military knights, by putting them

A. D. 1155.

* The archbishop of Tyre (p. 932, &c.) is the only original writer who mentions these disputes. As may be expected, he took the side of the church, and does not tell us the case of the Hospitallers. A detail of the disputes is not a desideratum. The marking of the existence of the *imperium in imperio* is the great matter.

them also under episcopal jurisdiction. The subject was indefinitely adjourned, and the disputants returned to Palestine.

We have marked as one sign of ruin in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the dissentions between the church and the knights of St. John. But much more pregnant with evil were the dissentions between those knights and the Templars. Every event in the military history of the Latin kingdom had shewn, how valuable to the Christian cause had been the military friars and the red cross knights. Those warriors were the flower of Christendom, and the exactness of their discipline held in subordination the numerous mercenary troops whom their immense wealth enabled them to support. In the infancy of those societies, a generous emulation prompted them to deeds of heroism; but in the course of time, the fine spirit of their institution became mingled with worldly views, and a noble jealousy of pre-eminence in danger degenerated into personal malice and hatred. As the knights were the allies, and not the subjects of the king, no war was undertaken, and no battle was fought, without their concurrence. But as each division of knights was independent of the other, there were endless altercations about precedency in council and situation in the field. The disputes became known, and

 were

were general throughout Christendom, for there was scarcely a noble family that had not some of its members in one of those societies. Every eye was turned to the papal court for the arbitration of their disputes. Alexander III. declared, that the bond of charity ought to unite Christians of every denomination. By his influence, a treaty of peace was signed between the two orders. But the Pope could not remove the great causes of dispute, ambition and avarice, and therefore dissatisfaction slept in the thin ashes of a seeming friendship.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Note (A).—Page 6.

The palmer's dress was simple, consistently with the seriousness of his object. It was generally a long garment of coarse woollen. Du Cange, art. Sclavina. Drayton describes the "palmer poore in *homely russet* "clad." Polyolb. S. 12, p. 198, ed. 1622, cited by Mr. Todd, note on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, vol. iii. p. 252. Palmer's weeds are frequently mentioned in old romances as a disguise, in which knights and ladies travelled. Thus in Bevis of Hampton (also cited by Mr. Todd), Sabere tells his son Terry, whom he is about to send into the "Sarrasins land" in search of Bevis,

> " *Palmers weeds* thou shalt weare,
> " So maist thou better of him heare."

Afterwards Bevis himself, meeting with a palmer, thus addresses him:

> " *Palmer,*" he said, " doe me some favour;
> " Give thou me *thy weed,*
> " For my cloathing and for my steed."

So in the history of King Lear,

> —— we will go disguisde in *Palmers' weeds,*
> That no man shall mistrust us what we are.

Milton has made a most beautifully poetical application of the subject.

> When the gray-hooded Even,
> Like a sad votarist in *Palmer's weed*,
> Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain.
>
> Comus, verse 188, &c.

I shall conclude with Spenser's description of a Palmer:

> A silly man, in simple weeds foreworne,
> And soil'd with dust of the long dried way;
> His sandales were with toilsome travell torne,
> And face all tand with scorching sunny ray,
> As he had traveild many a sommers day
> Through boyling sands of Arabie and Inde;
> And in his hand a Jacob's staffe, to stay
> His weary limbs upon; and eke behind
> His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind.
>
> Fairy Queen, book I, canto 6, st. 35.

Note (B).—Page 39.

The father of this Bohemond was a Norman gentleman, named Robert Wiscard, who made a trade of war, and at the head of fifteen knights went into Apulia, on the invitation of some other Normans who had established themselves in Magna Grecia. By arms and address Robert became (about the year 1058) master of Apulia and Calabria, and, indeed, of all the country which forms the present kingdom of Naples. Pope Nicholas II. gave him the title of duke. One of his brothers, Richard, was prince of Capua, and the other, Robert, earl of Sicily. He then aspired to further conquests; and, giving Apulia to his younger son, Roger, he crossed the Adriatic with his other

other son, Bohemond. The mother of Roger was an Apulian woman; but Bohemond was of the perfect Norman race. Wiscard took Durazzo; but he was summoned to Italy by Pope Gregory VII. in order to aid him in resisting the emperor Henry, and the imperial ecclesiastic Guibert of Ravenna; the latter of whom was afterwards the antagonist of Urban. The Norman twice reinstated Gregory, and as often sacked Rome. The Pope preserved his friendship by the promise of the splendid title of the Emperor of the West. The arms neither of Constantinople nor of Venice could subdue the young Bohemond; and he conquered Illyria and Macedonia, and the country from Durazzo to Thessalonica. His father returned to Greece; but he died before the dismembered Grecian states could be reduced to the permanent subjection of his family. Some writers say that Alexius flattered the vanity of Robert's wife by the promise of an imperial union; and at the emperor's instigation she poisoned her husband. A. D. 1085, Alexiad, book 1—4. Du Cange's Notes. William of Malmsbury (Sharp's translation), 336, 407. Giannone, Istoria di Napoli, lib. 9. c. 1, 4. lib. 10. c. 2, 6, 7. It is most probable, however, that Robert died a natural death; for the Calabrians do not at all countenance the accusation of the French and English writers against Alexius. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, III. 806-808. The Norman princes were powerful in Italy; and the prudent Urban neglected nothing which could gain their friendship. See the life of Pope Urban in the eighth volume of the Literary History of France, by the Maurite Monks. Most of the circumstances mentioned in this note materially corroborate the opinion

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of Malmsbury, that Bohemond was the adviser of Urban in the affair of the first Crusade.

Note (C).—Page 56.

Before we commence the history of the first Crusade, some account should be given of the principal sources whence it is drawn. 1. *Historia Hierosolymitana Roberti Monachi.* Robert accompanied the Crusaders; and he is apparently a faithful historian. 2. *Hist. Hier. Baldrici Archiepiscopi.* Baldric assisted at the council of Clermont, but did not go to Jerusalem. His book, however, was revised by an abbot who went. 3. *Hist. Francorum Raimondi De Agiles.* This writer was a canon in the cathedral of Puy, in the Valais, under bishop Adhemar. He was the chaplain and friend of the count of Tholouse during the Crusade. 4. *Historia Hierosolimetanæ Expeditionis edita ab Alberto Canoni Aquensis Ecclesiæ.* Albert was a contemporary, though not an eye-witness of the first Crusade. His history is full and interesting, and reaches to the year 1120. 5. *Fulcherii Carnotensis Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum,* &c. Fulcher was the chaplain of the count of Chartres, and then of Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, during the first Crusade. His history extends a few years further than that of Albert. It is an important document; but his style is so sesquipedalian and inflated, that the task is no light one to read his book. 6. *Gesta Dei per Francos, edita a Guiberto, &c.* Guibert was a contemporary. The basis of his book is Fulcher. He does not correct his original in any point of history, but frequently in the dreams, visions, &c. about which Fulcher was more superstitious than even his bigotted

associates.

associates. I have seldom found that Guibert has mentioned things unknown to other writers; and his style is affected and bombastical. 7. *Historia rerum, &c. edita Willermo Tyrensi Archiepiscopo.* William flourished in the twelfth century. His history, taken as a whole, is by far the best narrative of events in Jerusalem from the time of the first Crusade to the beginning of the reign of Baldwin IV. He is not less valuable for the matters previous to his time than of those with which he was contemporary. He was a judicious compiler, and a correct observer. His Latin is far more classical than that of any writer whom we have characterised; and he is more frequently the historian than the mere chronicler. All these historians will be quoted from the noble collection of Bongarsius, called the Gesta Dei per Francos, printed at Hanover in fol. 1611.* The copy of Fulcher, in the fourth volume of Duchesne, is more methodically arranged than the one in Bongarsius, and contains about ten pages more matter. When Bongarsius fails me, I shall quote Du Chèsne. 8. *Pedri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sciracensis Hist. de Hieros. Itiner.* Tudebode was an eye-witness of most of the events in the first Crusade. His book was not found till after the publication of the collection of Bongarsius. Duchesne has placed it in his fourth volume of French historians. The editor, and many subsequent writers, have strangely overrated its merits. Tudebode is much shorter than Albert and others; and passes over, or slightly notices many important

* It was Jortin who first said that this book should be called Gesta *Diaboli* per Francos; an expression which Gibbon cheerfully adopted.

important facts. 9. *Radulphus Cadomensis de Gestis Tancredi.* Ralph of Caen went to the holy land a few years after the taking of Jerusalem, and became the friend and biographer of Tancred. Fulcher's style is simple if compared with that of the Norman monk. It could have been from national prejudice only that M. de la Rue said that the history of his countryman was written in a manner but little inferior to that of Tacitus. Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 53. Martenne and Durand published Ralph and Caen in the third volume of the Thes. Nov. Anecdot. but the best edition is in the fifth volume of Muratori, Rer. Scrip. Ital. 10. *Belli sacri historia* in Mabillon, Mus. Ital. 2 vol. p. 130—240. This history was found in the monastery of Cassino by Mabillon, during the course of his literary journey through Italy. The name of the writer is not known; but whoever he was, he has only a place in the secondary rank. His book is for the most part a compilation from Tudebodus and Radulphus Cadomensis. Mabillon observed the similarity between his MS. and the first Gesta in Bongarsius, but did not refer to the historian of Tancred. 11, 12. Two anonymous writers; each book under the title of Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, in Bongarsius, p. 1—29. p. 561—621. The first of these works is an improvement of Tudebode; and the second is avowedly an abridgment of Fulcher: but the writer is original in many parts of his work. 13. *William of Malmsbury.* One of the earliest, and certainly the best of the English monkish historians. The first Crusade occurred in his childhood; and though he was sometimes misinformed respecting military events, yet his account is altogether spirited and philosophical. 14. Matthew,

Matthew, a priest of Edessa, died very old, A.D. 1144. He wrote a history of his country in the Armenian language. Such part of it as relates to the first Crusade has been translated into French by M. Chahan de Cerhied, and published in the ninth volume of the Notices des MSS du Roi. I shall only quote Matthew when we come to the foundation of the Edessene principality. He makes Joscelyn de Courtenay accompany Godfrey; and is guilty of so many other palpable blunders, as to be of no general use. 15. *Comnenæ Alexias*, Gr. et Lat. fol. Venice, 1729, enriched with the notes of that diligent searcher into the obscure recesses of antiquity, Charles du Fresne du Cange. The princess Anna, daughter of the emperor Alexius, was born about the year 1083. The tenth and eleventh books of her work relate to the period of the first Crusade. The princess was vain, ignorant, aud partial. But her history must be studied, because it contains the only Grecian account of the first Crusade. 16. *De Guignes, Hist. des Huns*, volume the second. This book completes our authorities, for it comprises an abridgment of the Arabic historians, Ben Latir, Abulfeda, and Aboulmahasen. It may be regretted, perhaps, that the Arabic authors are so few when compared with the Latins. But the monkish histories bear great marks of truth. The writers confess and describe the vices of the Crusaders; and as the shedding of Saracenian blood was not considered an offence, we need not apprehend that any facts of the war have been concealed. I have received but little benefit from the work of Ekhard, contained in the fifth volume of Martenne, Vet. Scrip. Amp. Coll. It is in general accordance with the great authorities

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in the Gesta Dei per Francos, but contains no additional matter. Such parts of Ordericus Vitalis as relate to the first crusade, are only transcribed or abridged from archbishop Baldric's account: but for collateral matters I have often found the Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Norman monk highly valuable.

Note (D).—Page 58.

The exact date of plenary indulgences cannot be ascertained; but this canon accelerated the practice. In the early ages of the church it was thought that sins against God ought to be followed by terrestrial as well as celestial justice. Scales of offences and punishments were, therefore, framed; and should be consulted by all those legislators whose principle of penal law is retribution, and not the good of society. Fasts and prayers were the usual penalties. As the world grew older vices multiplied, and neither certainty nor severity of punishment seemed to be of use. Offences were so numerous, that the longest life could not expiate them; and, whenever death came, there was always a long unsettled arrear. The church now said, that retribution could be made by substitute as well as in person; and a new scale of crimes and expiations was made. The people commuted their offences for gold, and the priests acted as their deputies in saying the proper number of prayers. Kings and princes, for the good of their souls, gave lands unto the church. Those unfortunate people who could not pay, were obliged to submit to flagellation; and it became the option of a great man, whether he would pay his money to the church for prayers, or get some callous mercenary to bear his sins upon his back.

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From this statement of the practice respecting ecclesiastical censures, the importance of the plenary indulgence mentioned in the text is evident. The plenary indulgence affected various descriptions of men. The barons of the eleventh century lived in the daily commission of crime, and the clergy often visited them severely for their plunder of churches and of the poor. The punishment most deeply felt by these ruffians of quality, was the not being allowed to bear arms, or to appear on horseback. When, therefore, the crusade was preached, it was joyfully received by the nobles. They might pursue their usual course of life; and a repetition of crime would atone for former sins.

Note (E).—Page 127.

Mail armour was of two sorts, scale mail (squamata vestis) and chain mail (hamata vestis). The scales were sown on a lining of leather or cloth: but the mail meshes were connected together like links of a chain, and were not attached to any thing; the whole exhibiting a kind of net work, of which (in some instances) the meshes were circular, with every iron link separately rivetted. The chain mail and the scale mail were used sometimes separately, and at other times conjointly. The hauberk was a complete covering of double chain mail from head to foot. It consisted of a hood joined to a jacket, with sleeves, breeches, stockings, and shoes; to which were added gloves, or gauntlets, of the same construction. It was girt round the body with a strap, called a balteus. Some hauberks opened before like a modern coat: others were closed like a shirt. Only knights, and those not of the poorest sort, might wear the hauberk.

A species of armour, called a shirt or coat of mail (in shape like a carter's smock frock) was worn by some soldiers. It was either with or without sleeves, and reached to the knees. Indeed originally the hauberk was nothing more than a coat of mail, and in that dress the knights were generally clad in the first crusade. But they had the shoes and hose of mail also. The squire might wear the coat or shirt of mail simply, without the hood, sleeves, breeches, or hose of mail. A garment, called a gambeson, was worn by soldiers. It was a sort of doublet or waistcoat, composed of many folds of linen stuffed with cotton, wool, or hair, quilted, and commonly covered with leather. Although it was chiefly worn under the coat of mail, to protect the body from being bruised by the strokes of the sword or lance, it was occasionally used as a surcoat, and richly ornamented. Mail armour was in general wear during all the crusades. In France, at the close of the thirteenth century, it was succeeded by plate armour, or large plates of solid iron, fitted to the various parts of the form. Soldiers had, for a long time, been making approaches to this complete casing of steel. The gorget, or throat-piece, the knee-pieces, and the breast-iron, or piece of iron over the breast, had for years been in use. When plate armour was in fashion, the knight carried a dagger, wherewith he might kill his dismounted and recumbent antagonist; who, in consequence of his iron incasement, could only feel the shock, but not the sharpness, of a lance. The dagger was called la miséricorde, because the time of its display was the moment when the worsted cavalier cried for mercy. Mail armour stood its ground longer

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in England than in France. It was more or less in custom from the time of the Norman conquest till the fifteenth century. Henry IV. was the last monarch that wore it. Du Cange on Joinville, note 31, part 2. Strutt, on the Habits, &c. of the English, vol. ii. p. 176. Grose on Ancient Armour. Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. Notes to the Fabliaux, &c. &c. Albert mentions the head pieces as having a splendid appearance. Galeæ in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant. It is evident that there was some difference of material or fabric between them and the coat of mail. The helmet often had what was called a nasal, or piece of iron descending to the extremity of the nose. In the course of time the weapons of offence were made larger and more powerful, and the defensive armour became stronger and more complete. Visors and bevers were introduced. The visor, or vintail, was a sort of grating to see through, and the wearer could raise or lower it at pleasure. The other addition was also a moveable piece of iron, and called a bever, from bouveur, a drinker, or from the Italian bevere, to drink. The simple skull-cap became a heavy helmet, variously ornamented with crests and other military and armorial distinctions. The monumental effigies of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund Crouchback, is the first in England whose helmet is surmounted by a crest. Albert of Aix speaks of Godfrey and other knights as adorned with a surcoat made of ermine vair and other skins adorned with gold, p. 104, ante. This surcoat was used by most ancient nations; it was worn over the cuirass. Plutarch tells us the purpose of it was to distinguish

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the persons of each party. Armorial bearings, emblazoned on the surcoat, are unquestionably of older date than the crusades. But that was not the general mode till, in France, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and in England at the close of the same century. The original plan was to have them painted on small shields, which were fastened to the belt. Painted bucklers were used in France before the time of the crusades. See the poem of Abbon on the Siege of Paris, Duchesne, Hist. Norman, p. 39; and the instance of an emblazoned shield of Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders (A. D. 1072), mentioned by Menestrier, Origine des Armoiries, p. 55. The surcoat was laid aside when plate armour came into custom, for then the arms were enamelled or relieved on the steel or iron. Armorial bearings first were used in tournaments in the tenth century, and the right to wear them was primarily restrained to gentlemen who displayed their skill in military exercises. Honorary distinctions of every sort became common in the crusades and other wars of the middle ages. It seems fair to conclude, that many of the barbarous terms of heraldry were adopted by the Christians from circumstances connected with their Asiatic expeditions. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, xviii. 316. M. Foncemagne, de l'Origine des Armoiries, in the twentieth vol. of the same work. Du Cange, Dissertation on Joinville, Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique, tom. iv. partie ii. sec. v. ch. vii. art. 2. and Introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments. It has been often said, that armorial bearings were absolutely necessary in the first crusade, for the purpose of distinguishing the leaders of so many different na-

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tions as composed the Christian force. But the armour of the eleventh century did not completely case in the body: the helmets were without visor or bever, and men might be known by their physiognomies.

Note (F).—Page 127.

The armiger, or armour bearer, of a knight is spoken of by Albert of Aix, p. 392. The word valet, and its diminutives, valeton, varleton, frequently occur in old writings. Neither Du Cange nor Menage can give even a probable derivation of the term. All young single men were called valets, and, agreeably to the fashion of naming the son of a king l'enfant, or the infanta, or puer, so the word li vallez, among the French nobility, meant the son of a prince. The term valet was frequently synonimous with that of esquire. Thus the Roman des Loherancs, "La veissez "vallez escu tenir." "Esquires were generally young gentlemen who were learning the use of arms. "Their education was long and severe: at seven "years old the noble children were usually removed "from their father's house to the court or castle of "the future patron, and placed under the care of a "governor, who taught them the first articles of religion, respect, and reverence to their lords and "superiors, and initiated them in the ceremonies of "a court. Their office was to carve, to wait at table, "and to perform other duties which were not then "considered as humiliating. At their leisure hours "they learned to dance and to play upon the harp: "were instructed in hunting, falconry, and fishing: "and in wrestling, tilting with spears, &c. At four-

" teen the page became an esquire, and began the
" course of more laborious exercises. To vault on a
" horse in heavy armour, to scale walls, and spring
" over ditches with the same incumbrance, &c. were
" necessary preliminaries to the reception of knight-
" hood, which was usually conferred at twenty-one
" years of age. The esquires, whose charge it was
" to do the honours of the court, acquired those refine-
" ments of civility, which formed what was called
" courtesy. Young persons of both sexes assembled
" in the castle, and the page was encouraged, at a
" very early period, to select some lady of the court
" as the mistress of his heart, to whom he was taught
" to refer all his sentiments, words, and actions.
" Thus the strongest passion of the human breast was
" so directed as to exert all its witcheries in the cause
" of virtue. The service of his mistress was the glory
" and occupation of a knight: her image had taken
" root in his heart amid the fairy scenes of childhood,
" and was blended with every recollection of that age
" of innocence, and her affections, bestowed at once
" by affection and gratitude, were held out as the re-
" compense of his well-directed valour." Ellis's
Preface to Way's Translation of French Fables. In
military expeditions, the esquire carried the lance,
helmet, and shield, of his knight, and furbished his
armour. No service was considered degrading, be-
cause the moving principle of a military life is subor-
dination. The squire could not eat at the same table
with the cavalier, and if he dared to strike a knight,
he was punished with the loss of his hand. Some of
the duties and qualifications of a squire are described
by Chaucer:—

And

And he hadde be somtime in chevachie,
In Flanders, in Artois, and in Picardie,
And borne him well, as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.
Singing he was, or floyting alle the day
He was as freshe, as is the month of May.
Short was his goune, with sleves long and wide,
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.
He coude songes make, and wel endite,
Juste and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write.
So hote he loved, that by nightertale
He slept no more than doth the nightingale,
Curteis he was, lowly, and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table.

Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

Note (G).—Page 127.

It is clear, from several passages in the historians of the first crusade, that the war horse of the knight was not barbed or barded. In the battles of the first holy war, as "storied" on the windows of St. Denys, the horses are represented as totally defenceless. I should not dwell upon these pictures as an authority, if the story were unsupported. They are not accurate in every respect. For instance, there are no ornaments on the shields of the knights. Montfaucon says, the shield was entirely plain even in the days of Suger, by whose order these paintings were made. But Albert of Aix expressly mentions the clypei of the Crusaders as being "auro et gemmis inserti variisque coloribus "depicti." Montfaucon, Monumens François, vol. i. p. 389. Albert Aquensis, lib. iv. c. vi. p. 241. In some of these pictures the Turks are clad in the hauberk, and in others in a kind of plate armour. The horse

on which the knight rode during the march was callled a "palefroi," and the war horse, generally a large and heavy animal, was named a "destrier," perhaps because it was common to lead him by the hand till the hour of battle. See Du Cange, Glossary on Villehardouin. The etymology of palfrey is to me quite unintelligible. Several opinions are contained in Menage, Dict. Etym. edit. Jault.

Note (H).—Page 128.

Albert of Aix, who is more full in his description of the costume of the time than any other writer, mentions the ensigns and standards of the knights as very handsome: signa et vexilla gemmis et ostro fulgida erecta, e hastis infixa coruscabant. Albert Aq. 212.

> —— l' ordinato esercito congiunto
> Tutte le sue bandiere al vento scioglie,
> E nel vessillo imperiale e grande
> LA TRIONFANTE CROCE al ciel si spande.
>
> La Gerusalemme Liber. i. 72.

A square flag, or banner, was the distinction of knights banneret, or the higher classes of nobility, who were cavaliers. Such knights as were not dukes, counts, or barons, or distinguished for their wealth, carried only the pointed pennon. When a simple knight was made a banneret, the sovereign prince, or the commander of his armies, unrolled the emblazoned pennon, cut off the end, and delivered the square flag to the knight, who had claimed the honour in consequence of the nobility of his birth, the services of his ancestors, &c. and who declared that he had a sufficiency of vassals to support the dignity.

Sovereign

Sovereign princes had both banner and pennon. See Chaucer's Knight's Tale, 1, 979. Bannerets had a war cry, but other knights had not. The former were called rich men, the latter poor men. Knights of every rank frequently adorned the top of their lances with a small flag, called a bandroll, or pencil.

Note (1).—Page 248.

Tanta sitis erat in obsidione, ut tellurem cavarent, et glebas humectiores ori apponerent, rorantiaque marmora lambarent. Plerique prout ferre poterant jejunabant. Quia jejunis sitim temperabant. Robertus Mon. p. 75.

The description which Lucan has given of a drought in Pompey's army, blocked up by Cæsar, was perhaps in Tasso's mind when he drew the picture of a similar distress in the army of the Crusaders. "But it is "pleasing to observe," with a very elegant writer, "with what address Tasso has imitated, though not "copied, the picturesque circumstance with which "the description of the Roman poet is closed. Instead of aggravating the distress of the soldier, by "the prospect of waters, which he could not approach, he recalls to his remembrance the cool "shades and still fountains of his native land; a circumstance not only singularly pathetic, but more "fertile also of imagery than perhaps any other that "the poet could have imagined."—Alison on Taste, vol. i. p. 52.

S' alcun giammai tra frondeggianti rive
Puro vide stagnar liquido argento:
O giù precipitose ir acque vive
Per Alpe, o in piaggia erbosa a passo lento;

Quelle

Quelle al vago desio forma, e descrive,
E ministra materia al suo tormento.
Che *l' immagine* lor gelida, e molle
L' asciuga, e scalda, e nel pensier ribolle.
La Gerusalemme Liberata, xiii. 60.

Since the appearance of the first edition of this work, it has occurred to me that Tasso took the leading idea of this description from Dante, Inferno, canto 30, where the punishments of avarice are said to be dropsy and excessive thirst. A sufferer exclaims,

Li ruscelletti, che de' verdi colli
Del Casentin discendon giuso in Arno,
Facendo i lor canali e freddi e molli,
Sempre mi stanno innanzi, e non indarno,
Che *l' imagine lor* via piu m' *asciuga*
Che 'l male ond' io nel volto mi discarno.

The rills, that glitter down the grassy slopes
Of Casentino, making fresh and soft
The banks whereby they glide to Arno's stream,
Stand ever in my view; and not in vain;
For more the pictur'd semblance dries me up,
Much more than the disease which makes the flesh
Desert these shrivelled cheeks.
Carey's Translation.

Note (K).—Page 266.

The title of king was given to Godfrey by many of his contemporaries, and by the writers immediately subsequent to his time. Other authorities, however, call Baldwin the first king of Jerusalem, and it is not clear whether Godfrey ever signed himself king. See the very learned note of Du Cange on the

the Alexiad, p. 89. In a circular letter to Europe, after the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey simply styles himself the advocate of the holy sepulchre. Thesaurus, Nov. Martenne, vol. i. p. 281. The character of defender of a city or church was well known in the fierce ages, when there were no public laws to protect the weak. It easily passed from the west to the east. Thus Bohemond was called the *advocatus* as well as the *dominus* of Antioch. Albert Aquensis, lib. v. cap. ii. p. 260. A more important question than that which I have mentioned, is, whether Godfrey became monarch on account of the refusal of other princes. Raymond d'Agiles (p. 179), Albert of Aix (283), and Guibert (537), say, that the crown was offered to the count of Tholouse, but that he refused it. This story must certainly be invention; for it is totally impossible to think that the ambitious and avaricious Raymond would have refused a kingly crown. The archbishop of Tyre says, that the grasping disposition of the count of Tholouse was the very cause of his not being elected. Malmsbury, Bromton, Robert of Gloucester, and a host of Norman and English writers, inflamed with national pride, declare that the crown was offered to Robert of Normandy on account of his being a king's son: and Peter Langtoft goes to the ridiculous length of making Godfrey endeavour to persuade the council to elect Robert. The natural indolence and love of undisturbed pleasure of Curthose are the alleged causes of his declining the dignity Not one of the authors in the Gesta Dei per Francos warrants this tale. Ordericus Vitalis (p. 756) mentions the uncontested election of Godfrey, and M. Paris (p. 41, 43) gives but little credence to the

the story concerning Robert. The disinterestedness of the duke of Normandy was always a favorite theme of English writers. Thus Drayton,

> And when they had the holy city won,
> And king thereof they gladly would him make,
> All sovereign titles he so much did shun,
> As he refused the charge on him to take,
> He the vain world so clearly did forsake,
> So far it was from his religious mind,
> To mix vile things with those of heav'nly kind.
> He would that him no triumph should adorn,
> But his high praise for sinful man that dy'd;
> By him no mark of victory was worn,
> But the red cross to tell him crucified;
> All other glories he himself deny'd;
> A holy life but willingly he leads,
> In dealing alms, and bidding of his beads.
> And as a pilgrim he returned again,
> For glitt'ring arms in palmers' holy gray,
> Leaving his lords to lead his warlike train,
> Whilst he alone came sadly on the way,
> Dealing abroad his lately purchas'd prey;
> A hermit's staff his careful hand did hold,
> That with a lance the heathen foe controll'd.
>
> Drayton's Legend of Robert duke of Normandy, Works, page 194.

Note (K).—Page 311.

By the advice of the patriarch and barons, and the wisest men of his army, Godfrey appointed some sage and discreet persons to inquire into the laws which the pilgrims had been accustomed to in Europe. The result of their labours was presented by the king to a general assembly of the patriarch and barons, and declared

clared by them to be the usages and assises which should ever govern the king and the people of Jerusalem. But they were corrected and augmented at different times by the successors of Godfrey, who, it is stated, sent into other countries in order to gain principles of legislation. The assises were generally called the letters of the sepulchre, from the place of their repository; and are said to have been lost when Jerusalem was taken by Saladin; à la terre perdue tout fut perdu. In the year 1250 the laws were revised and reduced into writing by John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Beritus and Ramula. A second revision was made by sixteen commissioners at Cyprus, in the year 1369, for the government of that island. A manuscript, in the Vatican, of this second revision, is the original of the only printed edition which has appeared of these assises, under the title of Assises et bons usages du Royaume de Jerusalem, &c. fol. Paris, 1690. Thaumassiere was the editor. He appended several notes, few of which are materially elucidatory of his text, and his glossary of old French law terms is very imperfect. The Assises have no pretensions to praise for a methodical arrangement of their contents. The subjects treated of are few, and confusion was not apprehended. Bound up in the same volume is the collection of the customary laws of Beauvoisis, by Beaumanoir, who was Baillie of Clermont, a few years after the time when John d'Ibelin revised the Assises. Beaumanoir's book remained in MS. till it was edited by Thaumassiere. Both treatises throw great light on each other: for although the basis of the Assises is feudal jurisprudence, and the basis of Beaumanoir is customary or common law, yet a great

a great many local practices were introduced by the Franks into the Palestine code, and the customary law of Beauvoisis had been modified and changed by feudal institutions.

Note (L).—Page 444.

What has been written in several of the last pages respecting the count of Tripoli, rests chiefly on the authority of the chronicle of events in the holy land, contained in the fifth vol. of Martenne. The author was Ralph Coggeshal, who was in Palestine at the battle of Tiberias, and is apparently a very faithful historian. See too the few last pages of William of Tyre, and Plagon's continuation. The archbishop declares, that Guy de Lusignan was unfit for the office of regent; but he speaks well of the count of Tripoli. The English and French writers, who lived at a distance, and could only write from report, mention, sometimes with hesitation, and at other times with positiveness, foul charges of treason against Raymond. It is most likely that these calumnies sprung from the grand master of the Templars, the enemy of the count of Tripoli. It is agreed, that Baldwin the leper gave the regency to Raymond, and left the settlement of the ladies' claims to the decision of the sovereigns of the west. Guy de Lusignan was an usurper; and, as we have seen, he was aided in his usurpation by Joscelyn de Courtenay and the ruler of the Templars. The latter advised the battle of Tiberias; the Christian cause was ruined, and the knight turned the blame from himself to a man whom he hated. The preceding intercourse between Saladin and Raymond gave the charge credit. The Arabic writers invariably describe

describe the count of Tripoli as a most formidable enemy of the Muselmans, and there is not a passage in their works which justifies the charges of the Templars. I was led to this view of the subject from perusing the facts and remarks collected and made by the most learned Maurite monks in their excellent History of Languedoc, vol. ii. n. 56. It may not be thought, however, that the conduct of any of the different men in question was the real cause of the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the time of Saladin's invasion of Palestine, his power was so enormous, that he could overwhelm and annihilate the petty Latin state; and so great was his hatred of the Christian name, that he certainly would not have waited for his enemy giving him cause to exercise his fanaticism.

END OF VOL. I.

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